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FBIS-EEU-95-165 *25 August 1995*

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Ministers To Discuss Lifting FRY Embargo

AU2508080695 Sofia DEMOKRATSIYA in Bulgarian 23 Aug 95 pp 1-2

[Unattributed report: "Government Intends To Lift FRY Embargo"]

[FBIS Translated Text] On 22 August the Bulgarian Foreign Ministry announced with great delay that, at the end of the week, Foreign Minister Georgi Pirinski will depart for Ioannina, (Greece), where he will meet his Romanian and Greek colleagues Teodor Melescanu and Karolos Papoulias on the initiative of the Greek foreign minister. According to the announcement of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the foreign ministers will discuss issues related to trans-European transit communications. The announcement does not mention even a word about the diplomatic steps related to lifting the FRY embargo announced by Melescanu on 22 August. The Romanian foreign minister declared his opposition to the embargo and consulted with Yugoslav President Slobodan Milosevic concerning a Balkan initiative on lifting the embargo, which will be discussed at Ioannina.

In the spring, when Greek Foreign Minister Papoulias visited Bulgaria, we heard for the first time about the initiative to lift the embargo, although at that time it was stressed that this will take place parallel to resolving the conflict. At that time, the idea was kept secret from President Zhelev and the National Assembly Commission on Foreign Policy. It was published only on 16 April at the Athens meeting of the Balkan foreign ministers (without the Turkish and Albanian foreign ministers). On 26 August, we will understand whether Pirinski, Papoulias, and Melescanu will continue to carry out their initiative on lifting the embargo "step by step," simultaneously with resolving the conflict, or whether they will call upon the United Nations to lift the FRY embargo immediately. The second version is the more likely one because two weeks ago a member of Videnov's team started the rumor that an extraordinary meeting of the Socialist cabinet will be convened, at which lifting the FRY sanctions will be discussed.

The meeting did not materialize. According to observers, this means that a joint initiative has been coordinated between the three governments. The Socialist government is skillfully utilizing the summer political vacation and did not deem it necessary to inform the president or the National Assembly about its future actions in Ioannina.

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KShH Urges Belgrade To Halt Kosovo Colonization

AU2408203495 Pristina KOSOVA DAILY REPORT in English 24 Aug 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] The Albanian Helsinki Committee [KShH] called in a communique yesterday upon international governmental institutions, NGO's [Nongovernmental Organizations] and human rights organizations to pressurize on Belgrade regime to bring to an immediate halt its schemes for colonization of Kosova. The Serbian regime has been overtly endeavoring to change the ethnic composition of Kosova by bringing Serbs to there and while promising them land and other incentives at a time the people of Kosova are in the verge of their survival, says the communique.

The Albanian Helsinki Committee warns that such a step poses a great provocation and it will further deteriorate the crises in the Balkans. The Albanian Government has warned twice over the past week that the Serbian regime schemes for colonization of Kosova pose dangers to the stability in the region.

Berisha Distinguishes Kosova Status From Krajina's

AU2508123695 Tirana RILINDJA in Albanian 18 Aug 95 p 1

[Article by M. Baze: "Kosova—The Most Complex Issue of the Balkan Crisis"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Albania today expressed concern at the fact that several international diplomatic circles had tried to express a kind of gratitude for Belgrade's reaction to the Croat offensive in Krajina, considering such gratitude as endangering peace in the Balkans. This was President Berisha's comment at a meeting he had yesterday in Tirana with General William Crouch, commander in chief of U.S. ground forces in Europe. Mr. Berisha said that we are very worried by the fact that, after the Croat offensive in Krajina, gratitude is being shown to Belgrade for not reacting to the offensive. The truth is, Mr. Berisha said, that Krajina was not a constitutional unit of the former Yugoslavia, but an integral part of the Croatian state that was occupied through aggression. He took the opportunity to criticize the part of international opinion that regarded that territory as independent. To declare this, Berisha said, is tantamount to thanking the aggressor.

Mr. Berisha's comments on the Croatian offensive to liberate Krajina come at a time when several international political circles are trying to place Krajina and Kosova on the same level. To underscore the radical difference between them, Mr. Berisha said that Kosova is the most complicated issue of the Balkan crisis. Considering the Belgrade government's latest decision to send Serb refugees to Kosova as a serious and imminent threat to shift the conflict to the south, Berisha told the U.S. general that many other neighboring countries share the same opinion, and he mentioned the recent stand of the Greek Government and that of Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM]. He reiterated the Albanian side's demand that Kosova representatives should hold a roundtable discussion about the crisis in former Yugoslavia. Mr. Berisha described Belgrade's recent acts as reluctance to cooperate for peace and stability in the Balkans.

Berisha's strong words about the attitude of part of international opinion regarding the Croatian offensive to liberate Krajina are explained by Tirana's efforts to present the Kosova problem as one connected with the initial crisis of the former Yugoslav Federation and not with later events that followed the conflict between the sides in former Yugoslavia.

The fact that Berisha mentioned that Krajina was not a constitutional unit of former Yugoslavia shows that Tirana is trying to internationalize the Kosova problem in international diplomatic circles. One Albanian newspaper reports that an anonymous Russian official reacted to the letter that the Albanian foreign minister sent to the Security Council protesting the settlers in Kosova. The reaction of the anonymous Russian official referred to by Interfax came because Kosova was considered an independent unit of former Yugoslavia.

The U.S. general, who also met with Sheme Kosova, chief of the Army General Staff, said that he appreciates Albania's stand on these problems and promised that there will be positive new developments in Albanian-U.S. military cooperation.

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Pirinski Views Sanctions, Departs for Ioannina

AU2508100895 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 0900 GMT 25 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Text] On 25 August a Bulgarian delegation led by Foreign Minister Georgi Pirinski departed for Ioannina, Greece, where it will take part in the tripartite Bulgarian-Greek-Romanian meeting.

Minister Pirinski denied that lifting the Yugoslav embargo will be a basic topic at the meeting, as certain press reports have claimed. He said that no new initiative has been agreed upon with Greek Foreign Minister Papoulias on this subject, and that it had never been planned to discuss the issue.

The meeting will be an unofficial one at which economic issues will predominantly be discussed, and first to be discussed are the transportation links that will be created with the assistance of the PHARE [Economic and Reconstruction Aid for Poland and Hungary] Program.

The Bulgarian delegation includes representatives of other ministries, first of all, the Ministry of Transportation, as well as representatives of economic organizations and separate companies and banks.

Simultaneously, Minister Pirinski did not exclude the possibility that, in principle, talks about the Yugolav sanctions and their usefulness could be discussed at the meeting. The following is the most important part in the position of Minister Pirinski in connection with the officially announced topics that will be discussed at the meeting, and the issue of the Yugoslav sanctions:

[Begin recording] It is obvious that the topic of intensifying cooperation between structures in the three countries is related to lifting the Yugoslav embargo. You know that Bulgaria has also posed the issue of cooperating in overcoming the economic issues prompted by the sanctions. In this context we have repeatedly expressed the opinion that lifting those sanctions must be connected to the efforts to find a solution to the Yugoslav crisis. [end recording]

Weekly Examines Pirinski's Popularity

AU2408192995 Sofia NOVINI PLYUS in Bulgarian 19-25 Aug 95 p 9

[Article by Lyudmila Zasheva: "Pirinski Between Videnov and Lukanov"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Provoked by journalists several days after forming his cabinet, Zhan Videnov said that Georgi Pirinski was his best catch. It appeared that by stating this he was trying to convince himself more than his audience.

The first signs of conflict between the two appeared at the 41st Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP] Congress in 1994, when Pirinski resigned from the BSP Executive Bureau and, one week later, from the post deputy chairman of the BSP parliamentary faction, as a sign of disagreement with the party chairman's methods and team.

During the preelection period of October-November 1994 internal party sociological studies recoded the increase in Pirinski's rating at the expense of the party leader. The candidacy of the current foreign minister as leader of the party election list was most massively proposed by the municipal councils. Thus, Videnov's choice had its logic.

Pirinski, who has an economic education, entered the sphere of big diplomacy without any experience. Perhaps this is why both he and the prime minister used to say at the beginning that the goal is to place foreign relations on an economic foundation. Despite the fact that so far this intention has not produced any special results Pirinski's rating greatly improved.

Already in January, when he stepped into office, he occupied the second place in the political ratings' gradation, surpassing President Zhelev and Simeon II. His rating improved monthly, and in April he reached the top, surpassing Zhan himself. If until that moment both made efforts to preserve the rules of the appropriate party manners, since then their tacit contradictions developed into an open, albeit not very noisy, battle. While Videnov hesitated on the issue of Bulgaria's membership in NATO, Pirinski, surveying the first 100 days of the cabinet, declared the categorical necessity of this membership. While BSP representatives assured the Serbs on Belgrade's television that the Bulgarian Government will insist on rapidly lifting the Yugoslav embargo, Pirinski said that lifting the Yugoslav embargo must proceed parallel to peacefully resolving the Bosnia crisis. It appears that the "Stoyan Ganev [first foreign minister in the government of the Union of Democratic Forces]-Filip Dimitrov" syndrome engulfed the current leaders. Bulgaria's first diplomat recalled that Bulgaria's interests require close cooperation between the government and the presidency. Furthermore, during the president's visit to the United States he spared the president the confusion regarding his Balkan initiative by saying that the idea had already been discussed and found to be sound. Thus he spared Zhelev the shame of being reproached by the superpowers for proposing an ill-advised initiative. Thus he immediately evoked suspicion that the sympathizers with the president. [sentence as published] Obviously, certain people could not understand that this was an exercise in high diplomacy,

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a realm the intelligent Pirinski grasped within several months.

Thus gradually, with moderate reactions, without much ado, and without using a red broom in his ministry, Pirinski is not only avoiding a failure as a foreign minister, but he actually is strengthening his position. In addition, he enjoys confidence and authority among his Western colleagues.

Political scientists are claiming that the first personnel changes in the cabinet will take place in the fall. They say that Pirinski will be the first casualty. However, Zhan is sufficiently prudent to not allow only his personal emotions to guide his actions. He would hardly implement this radical measure if a much more powerful figure than Pirinski, Andrey Lukanov, was not at the bottom of the entire affair.

Already the fact that, after first expressing disagreement with Videnov's actions as party chief, six months later, Pirinski agreed to become a member of his cabinet, evoked the suspicion that Pirinski, who was born in the United States, is the Trojan horse of Lukanov, who was born in Moscow, in Videnov's cabinet. [sentence as published] The claim that Pirinski is Lukanov's man is confirmed not only by the long-lasting friendship between Lukanov and Pirinski that developed at the roundtable talks where Pirinski was Lukanov's right hand, but also by the fact that he was deputy prime minister in Lukanov's second cabinet, and by his current behavior as foreign minister. At the very beginning he said that he will strive to coordinate Bulgaria's foreign policy with the country's national interests and refrain from creating the impression of preferring one foreign political center at the expense of another. This in itself is the standard phrase of a new foreign minister. However said by Pirinski, who obviously is inclined toward the West, this means restoring the old friendship with Russia, toward whose markets, as is well known, Lukanov's desires are directed. Despite his frequent visits abroad so far, Pirinski has not visited Russia. On the other hand, Lukanov was there so many times that he actually traced a path between Bulgaria and Russia. Thus, placing our foreign relations on an economic foundation (albeit only with Russia), was attributed to Lukanov and not to Pirinski. This is sufficient reason for claiming that the foreign minister is passive, while others are doing his job, and therefore, it is time to replace him.

To this, one could add the "Top Energy" [joint Bulgarian-Russian company set up to manage gas supplies] scandal and Lukanov's participation in it. Pirinski could become this conflict's scapegoat.

SDS's Kostov Departs for Trip to Moscow

AU2508105995 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 0900 GMT 25 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Union of Democratic Forces [SDS] leader Ivan Kostov departed for Russia on 25 August for a visit at the invitation of Yegor Gaydar's party, Russia's Choice. This is the SDS leader's first visit to Moscow. SDS representatives who were members of a Bulgarian delegation that visited Russia two months ago studied the situation in Russia and concluded that permanent relations with the biggest faction in the Duma must be established.

Prior to his departure Mr. Kostov said:

[Begin recording] I expect to establish important contacts with the people with whom we are very close in anything related to ideas and political positions. Thus, the visit will be important for the country as a whole. Naturally, I hope that relations will strengthen and develop positively. For us, Russia's Choice is an exceptionally important partner and we hope they will succeed in the elections. We hope that Bulgaria will benefit from the political relations between our political formations. [end recording]

Mr. Kostov hopes to be able to speak at the Russia's Choice congress, which will take place on 26-27 August, and to invite Yegor Gaydar to visit Bulgaria.

Legion Approves Army High-Level Staff Reshuffle

AU2408181095 Sofia BULGARSKA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 21 Aug 95 p 3

[Report by Lieutenant Colonel Evegeni Genov: "Legion Approves Personnel Reshuffle"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Now is the time to propose and effect personnel changes in the Bulgarian Army, this is something normal and no speculations should be made on this issue—this is the opinion of the Rakovski Bulgarian Officer Legion, which was announced on 20 August at the legion's news conference in Sofia. It is true that this year the reshuffle involves many officers; however, the substantial number of officers, especially high-ranking officers, is a result of the personnel vacuum, which emerged because of unjustly eliminating the Military Inspectorate in the past, the members of the legion think.

According to the organization's leadership, the recent personnel reshuffling of the high-ranking and middle levels of the Army is the most successful one in the last several years. I am familiar with the businesslike and professional qualities of most of the officers who have been proposed for promotion, and I can claim

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with a clear conscience that this is the best alternative, Lieutenant Colonel Engineer Nikolay Lichev, acting chairman of the Rakovski Bulgarian Officer Legion, said. The fact that the existing system of assessing the professional qualities of the officers is not perfect and allows many mistakes is a different issue, he added.

If the issue of reshuffling the leading units of the Bulgarian Army has been resolved in the best possible manner, the situation at the tactical units is completely different. The old requirement, according to which officers should not serve longer than five years at small and border region garrisons, after which they must be transferred to central parts of the country, is not being observed, it was pointed out at the news conference. The fact that 90 percent of the 547 officers who are being discharged, most of which are young officers, themselves requested their discharge, proves this. We are troubled by the fact that most of the officers' spouses are unemployed and their families are living in poverty, conducting a daily struggle to physically survive, representatives of the Rakovski Bulgarian Officer Legion leadership pointed out. They think that the situation of the officers in Ivaylovgrad and Krumovgrad is especially grave and recalled that an officer whose appropriate social conditions have not been ensured has no motivation to serve in a worthy manner and demonstrate high professional qualities.

It was reported that preparations for the Third Congress of the Rakovski Bulgarian Officer Legion are intensifying. The congress will take place from 30 September to 1 October. The EUROMIL president has been invited to attend the congress. A delegation of the legion will depart on 4 October for the regular EUROMIL session.

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Klaus on Expellees' 'Collective Right' To Return

AU2508084295 Prague MLADA FRONTA DNES in Czech 23 Aug 95 p 2

[Interview with Czech Prime Minister Vaclav Klaus by Jan Lipold; place and date not given: "Klaus Rejects Expellees' Collective Right To Return"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Prague—Prime Minister Vaclav Klaus rejects the possibility of granting Germans who were relocated [vystehovany] from Czechoslovakia after the war a special right to settle in their former homeland again. This is one of the main Sudeten German demands—one that is defended, in particular, by the government of Bavaria.

"At each meeting that I have attended over the past five years, the German side has raised the issue of an above-standard—that is, easier—possibility for Germans who were transferred [odsunuty] from Czechoslovakia to settle in our country. I must add, however, that even they do not expect many Sudeten Germans to be interested in doing this today. My unchanging reply to this has been: Any above-standard possibility is out of the question, any 'collective' solution is generally unacceptable to us. It is possible to consider only, and exclusively, individual cases, while applying existing Czech legislation," the prime minister said.

[Lipold] Is it conceivable that, within the framework of the common fund for the future, compensation will be granted to "special cases of hardship among the Sudeten Germans," to use Bavarian Minister-President Edmund Stoiber's term? Which people could fall under such a compensation scheme?

[Klaus] The common fund for the future is one of the possibilities being discussed, but its possible establishment, size, and manner of use are still only subjects of reflection. There exist no specific ideas yet and whatever information has been published was mere speculation.

[Lipold] Is the Czech side ready to change in any way the postwar law on the amnesty of criminal acts committed during the transfer, to which Minister-President Stoiber has been referring?

[Klaus] The Czech Republic does not want to, and cannot, change its own past; therefore, it cannot, and does not want to, change its legal system and individual laws. I told Minister-President Stoiber this quite unequivocally, and I have the feeling that he understands this attitude. Whether he, the Sudeten Germans, and a number of lawyers like the law of 1946 is a completely different matter. I must concede that they do not like it and that this has been communicated to us repeatedly.

[Lipold] In your opinion, are the Czech Republic's relations with Germany the most complicated among our relations with neighboring states?

[Klaus] I keep saying that relations between the Czech Republic and Germany are not at all bad; that, quite the contrary, they have never been better in living memory [za dohlednutelnou minulost]. It is not correct to give the Sudeten German problem greater weight than it actually has. Let us not allow ourselves to be maneuvered into such a perception of Czech-German relations by anyone in Germany, but also in our country.

Poll: Levels of Confidence in Havel, Klaus

AU2408171295 Prague LIDOVE NOVINY in Czech 23 Aug 95 p 3

[Article by "mrk": "Citizens' Level of Confidence in the President and the Prime Minister Remains Stable"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Prague—President Vaclav Havel is trusted by three-quarters of the population and Prime Minister Vaclav Klaus by 54 percent. This transpires from the results of a STEM [Center for Empirical Research] August poll.

Following the major rise of the level of confidence in the president between the end of last year and the beginning of this year (from 67 to 78 percent), the citizens' level of support has stabilized at 75 percent. The prime minister, on the other hand, had previously experienced a considerable decline of citizens' trust, from 64 percent in October to 54 percent in February and 52 percent in June.

Vaclav Havel can rely on a larger percentage of citizens who trust him without reservations. The president is "definitely" trusted by 31 percent of respondents; the prime minister, by only 17 percent. Klaus also has twice as many blunt adversaries as Havel. He is "definitely" distrusted by 18 percent of those questioned; Havel, by only 9 percent. Both constitutional officials are trusted by 49 percent of citizens, while 21 percent do not distrust either of them. A total of 26 percent trust only Havel; 4 percent trust only Klaus.

President Havel is accepted by all groups of the population, while Prime Minister Klaus enjoys the trust of, above all, the more educated strata, younger citizens, entrepreneurs, and students.

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Report on 'Unique' T-55 Firefighting Tank

AU2508062695 Prague MLADA FRONTA DNES in Czech 21 Aug 95 p 7

[Article by Jaroslav Curik: "The United States Has Expressed Interest in the Unique Firefighting Tanks Manufactured in Moravia"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Bucovice—The unique firefighting tanks manufactured by the Novy Jicin Military Repair Plant on the T-55 tank undercarriages has evoked interest even in the United States. The original types of the firefighting tank are being used by civil defense regiments.

"One tank of the latest version, named the Firefighter-55, is being shown in the United States. Another two have already been sold to Spain," said Miroslav Adamcik, from the marketing department of the Military Repair Plant.

Compared with the original version used by the civil defense regiments, the type designated for exports has firefighting devices supplied by a renowned foreign firm, and a remote control. "We have also adjusted the tank to U.S. standards," Adamcik said. The repair plant sells the tanks at $285,000 each.

Similar firefighting vehicles exist in the world, Adamcik says, but they are much smaller and can carry much less water. "In Germany and Russia, for instance, they have begun to copy our machine. So far, however, they have not progressed as far as we have with its development," Adamcik claims. According to him, the firm does not object to the tank's being built on the chassis of a Leopard tank, for instance. To date, there are only machines with the T-55 chassis.

The civil defense staff also rate the tanks as superior. "These machines have no competition anywhere," claims Alexander Lehner, from the main office of the civil defense. According to Lehner, the tank would be efficient even in fighting oil-well fires in Kuwait. The civil defense regiment in Bucovice near Brno has three tanks, which are also armored with lead sheeting so that they could be used in case of a radiation accident at the Dukovany nuclear power station. The civil defense owns a total of 14 firefighting tanks.

The firefighting tank has its own cooling system and can operate right in the middle of a fire. The machine does not damage regular roads because its caterpillar tracks have protective rubber slabs. Its cisterns hold more than 10,000 metric tons of water and 600 tons of foam. The tank has a firefighting range of 65 meters.

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News Conference on Delegation's Meeting With Kovac

LD2408164395 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1000 GMT 24 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Text] There are rumors that Vladimir Meciar's government could resign in the next few weeks. In this connection and at its own request, the Christian Democratic Movement [KDH] delegation met with President Michal Kovac to explain its views. The meeting ended a while ago and editor Michal Tvarozek is offering a recording of a news briefing with presidential spokesman Vladimir Stefko and KDH chairman Jan Carnogursky.

[Begin recording] [Stefko] I would like to say, on behalf of the president, that the topic of the talks was the current internal political situation in Slovakia, above all in connection with the prepared plenary meeting of the National Council of the Slovak Republic. As to the fundamental viewpoint of the president: It is what has been published several times—namely that legally, the government and parliamentary bodies are here as a result of free parliamentary elections. Equally, the president of the Slovak Republic was legally elected, and the president sees no reason why there should be any changes in these posts. In other words, the president has said if Meciar's government offers its resignation he will not accept it. This is all from me. I ask Mr. Carnogursky to express his view.

[Carnogursky] According to the KDH mandate, the KDH delegation briefed the president to the effect that there are signals that Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar is planning a hot autumn during September or October so that either the president or the government will resign. In our view there is no reason for the matter to be posed like this. If, despite this, the matter is posed this way, we think that, first, the president should not resign, and second, he should not accept the government's resignation. The president also thinks that, first, one should not put the matter this way, and, second, there is no reason to accept the resignation of the government should it resign.

[Tvarozek] In the situation when there are talks about whether or not to enter NATO and background materials are being prepared, in view of the latest assessments of the internal political situation, would it not be more advantageous for Slovakia, for the resignation of Vladimir Meciar to be accepted should he resign?

[Carnogursky] No, I do not think so. I will not repeat all the arguments, but I think that the Slovak Government was elected in democratic elections, it has a majority in the parliament. There is no reason why it should resign, and, above all, there is no reason why it should run away from the responsibility it has for the work of its Cabinet. I would just like to add that this government has officially applied to join the EU, and said in a number of forums and on numerous occasions that it wants to enter NATO. Certain positive steps have been made that were well accepted abroad. There is no reason why the government should not continue along this path.

[Tvarozek] What is the position of the other opposition parties?

[Carnogursky] The position of the other opposition parties, as far as we know it, is identical, in that there is no reason why the government should resign and there is no reason why the president should accept the resignation should it be submitted.

[Tvarozek] Did you coordinate your policies in any way?

[Carnogursky] Yes, as I have said already. We briefed other opposition parties on our viewpoint.

[Tvarozek] You mentioned that there is no reason for the government to resign. Does that mean that you are happy with its present activities?

[Carnogursky] Certainly not. We are not happy with the government's activities, but the government has a majority in the parliament and therefore, according to the Slovak Constitution, it has all the conditions to perform its role.

[Tvarozek] Mr. Stefko, rejecting or not accepting the resignation solves this problem only for a certain time, because the government can offer to resign again and, according to the Constitution, the president should then appoint a new government.

[Stefko] I think that deliberations of this kind have a rather legal and theoretical character. Naturally, it is possible to model certain developments of the situation that could happen, but the president considers it premature to think about these things too loud, so to speak, and too often. The president is convinced that Mr. Meciar's government will complete its activity, and I would like to add that the president is convinced that posing the question of the victory of one side and defeat of the other is incorrect, because free elections and the constitutional system of the Slovak Republic provide all the possibilities for the existence of cooperation, even between those political entities whose views are not completely identical. I would say it is a question of political culture, of the aims of the individual political entities, despite various ways of achieving these aims. But the question of sharpened conflict is anticonstitutional and against the interest of this society, this republic. This is

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the profound conviction of the president. [end recording]

Police Action Against Bishop Triggers Protests

AU2408171195

[FBIS Editorial Report] Slovak newspapers from 15 to 22 August publish a number of reports on, and reactions to, the search of the Office of the Bishop Office in Banska Bystrica on 17 July, carried out on the order of an investigator to verify suspicion of the involvement of church officials in the smuggling and falsification of sacral works of art. All reports and reactions with the exception of those appearing in the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia (HZDS) daily SLOVENSKA REPUBLIKA view the search as a politically motivated attempt at discrediting Bishop Rudolf Balaz, chairman of the Slovak Bishops' Conference, which recently issued a statement in support of President Michal Kovac. Some newspapers also speculate that the police may have been looking for compromising materials that current state authorities could use in the state's campaign against certain church representatives.

Bratislava SME in Slovak on 15 August on pages 1 and 2 carries an 800-word article by Iveta Bielikova entitled "Police Carried Out Search of Banska Bystrica Bishop's Office," in which Jozef Hrtus, director of the Bishop's Office, gives an account of the incident. According to the article, eight policemen searched the Office of the Bishop on 17 July during the bishop's absence, ostensibly to "verify information about the sale and falsification of works of art." Hrtus confirms that the Office of the Bishop decided to sell a "historically insignificant" painting, a triptych, to finance the operation of the Office and its seminary. He asserts that the Office did not require any permit for this transaction, since the painting in question was its property and was not listed in the registry of cultural monuments. Besides, it asked a restorer to make a copy of the original—one clearly recognizable even to a layman—which remains at the Office. Commenting on the search, Hrtus says: "It is as though we suddenly returned to the years of totalitarianism, into the 1950's. Bishop Balaz is chairman of the Slovak Bishops Conference, and as such, he represents not only all the bishops but also the faithful of Slovakia. When a search of his office is conducted in his absence, it is too much for a society that claims to be democratic to swallow."

According to Hrtus: "We are getting signals that the aim was, and is, to implicate father bishop in certain machinations. The search is connected with the events that followed the Slovak Catholic bishops' recent statement in support of the president, with bomb threats addressed to his office, and with some defamatory articles published in SLOVENSKA REPUBLIKA about the bishop of Banska Bystrica."

Hrtus announces that his office has filed a complaint with the Banska Bystrica Prosecutor's Office against the search.

Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak on 18 August on page 2, under the headline "Were the Police Looking for Materials Compromising Bishop Balaz?," carries a 600-word interview with Democratic Union Deputy Chairman Jan Budaj on the incident. Speaking about the "true motives" of the search, Budaj says: "I consider this affair to be a certain test balloon, designed to show to what degree political forces, public officials, and the president, but also the Church are able to vigorously oppose the restoration of police methods and the suppression of persons who are inconvenient from the viewpoint of the interests of those wielding power. Monsignor Balaz is known as chairman of the Bishops Conference, in the name of which—but also in his own name—he has recently been speaking out unequivocally against violations of the Constitution, against party-motivated attacks on the president of the Republic, and in favor of the preservation of democratic gains in Slovakia. This could be the main reason for the use of such unusual methods in his case."

Bratislava SME in Slovak on 18 August on page 1 carries a 300-word report by "klo" on Bishop Rudolf Balaz's meeting with two leading HZDS officials—Augustin Marian Huska, deputy chairman of the National Council of the Slovak Republic (NRSR), and Dusan Slobodnik, chairman of the NRSR Foreign Affairs Committee—in Banska Bystrica on 17 August. According to the report, "Rudolf Balaz told the NRSR deputy chairman that state-church relations will be proper, and that the Church will be a contribution to society, if bishops will not be compromised. He pointed out that the search of a bishop's office was an unprecedented affair in a democratic state and that, also, attacks in the daily SLOVENSKA REPUBLIKA do not contribute to the kind of coexistence with the church that the two deputies had expressed a desire for at the meeting."

Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak on 19 August on pages 1 and 2 carries a 500-word report by Eva Laukova entitled "Prayers for the Bishop." Laukova reports on an "special meeting of the Slovak Bishops Conference," at which "Rudolf Balaz informed Slovak bishops about the unprecedented action by the state police, unparalleled even during the deep totalitarianism of the communist era." According to the report, the meeting was attended by Apostolic Nuncio Luigi Dossena, ambassador of the Vatican to Slovakia, who was "appalled."

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On the same day, on page 2, PRAVDA carries a 150-word TASR report on a news conference organized by the Permanent Conference of the Civic Institute (SKOI) in Bratislava on 18 August. According to SKOI leader Frantisek Sebej, "the search of the Office of the Bishop in Banska Bystrica marks the return of StB (communist-era secret police) practices of Slovakia." Sebej also believes that the aim of the search was not to find anything but "to exert pressure on, and intimidate, everyone who learns about these practices."

Bratislava SME in Slovak on 22 August on page 1 carries a 400-word report by "klo" on a rally of more than 2,000 believers held in Banska Bystrica on 21 August "in support of Bishop Rudolf Balaz." Jozef Hrtus, director of the Office of the Bishop, is quoted as having told the rally: "We do not see any reason for all that happened regarding father bishop and the Office of the Bishop, and are waiting, above all, for an apology. The government coalition must not just declare democracy but exercise it in practice."

Unlike other dailies, the HZDS-owned daily SLOVENSKA REPUBLIKA justifies the police action and protests against attempts by the media and opposition politicians to "politicize" the issue. On 22 August, on pages 1 and 2, for example, it carries a 1,000-word article by Jozef Kroslak and Andrea Hinkova on the case, an article that stresses that the investigation was carried out in full conformity with existing legislation and that "even high church dignitaries cannot be exempted from criminal proceedings" when there is a justified suspicion of breach of the law. The article admits, however, that, according to police investigations, "evidence is weakening that the criminal act of embezzlement was involved" in the above case.

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Air Commander Explains Increased Readiness

AU2408133695 Budapest NEPSZAVA in Hungarian 24 Aug 95 p 3

[Interview with Major General Gyorgy Feminger, deputy Air Defense commander of the Hungarian Armed Forces, by Antal Andrassy; place and date not given: "Who Arrives at Paks First?"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Because of the increased threat of armed conflict at Hungary's southern border, as part of military security measures, the combat readiness of the Hungarian Air Defense and Flight Control has been on higher alert for the last 10 days. What does all this mean?—we asked Major General Gyorgy Feminger, deputy air defense commander of the Hungarian Army.

[Feminger] First of all, I would like to correct something. We have not increased the alert level; we have only made preparations to increase the number of our forces quickly and efficiently if necessary. We cannot wait idly and see what happens in connection with the well-known events in former Yugoslavia. We have only enforced technical regulations, which, if necessary, can increase the level of our alertness.

[Andrassy] What can you do if an aircraft or a missile gets into our airspace either deliberately or inadvertently? Can you find out in time whether it is heading toward Baja, Paks, or Budapest? Are we able to defend ourselves against such an attack?

[Feminger] In peacetime, we cannot avoid an airspace violation or the penetration of a missile. But we do have the means to notice this on time and to be able to take adequate measures to prevent or neutralize it. As for Paks, I can say that, as far as I know, none of the sides in the conflict has means of causing damage to a nuclear power station; nor do our neighbors intend to do such a thing.

[Andrassy] What is the range of our air defense radars?

[Feminger] At low altitude, our radars cover 20-25 kilometers beyond our borders; at higher altitudes, they cover several hundred kilometers. The agreement we signed with our southern neighbors, according to which their aircraft will not get closer than 10 kilometers from our borders, also represents some sort of a guarantee. If a hostile military action becomes clear, every country can make use of the possibility guaranteed by international law, namely to force the intruders to land, turn them back, or even destroy them.

Official Details Strengthening of Southern Border

LD2508123295 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1000 GMT 25 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] The southern border area in Baranya County has been strengthened during the past 48 hours with eight new border guard companies. Peter Kovesdi interviewed Jozsef Komueves, deputy spokesman for the border guard, on the deployment, which is unusual in peacetime.

[Begin recording] [Komueves] Currently there are 10 border guard companies on the East Slavonian stretch of the border belonging to the Pecs Border Guard Directorate. There is no war situation similar to that in 1991. [passage omitted]

[Kovesdi] But the scale of reinforcement is the same or even larger?

[Komueves] Yes. We think that the situation is increasingly tense on the other side. The border guard has to prepare for the protection of the local residents' lives and possessions.

[Kovesdi] What are the orders of these border guard companies?

[Komueves] They are patrolling and defending the state border. They can disarm and capture any person or armed group which crosses the border.

[Kovesdi] Is it the highest possible state of alert or can you deploy even more border guards in this area?

[Komueves] The border guard has 24 border guard companies altogether. This means that, should it be necessary, we can deploy more border guard companies. [end recording]

VMSZ Head Condemns Settlement of Serb Refugees

AU2408145095 Budapest UJ MAGYARORSZAG in Hungarian 24 Aug 95 p 3

[Interview with Ferenc Csubela, chairman of the Federation of Vojvodina Hungarians, by Udvardy; place and date not given: "The Devilish Waves of Settlement: Laszlo Kovacs Met the VMSZ's Leader"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Foreign Minister Laszlo Kovacs received Ferenc Csubela, chairman of the Federation of Vojvodina Hungarians [VMSZ], on 23 August. We interviewed Csubela on the contents of the talks and on the situation of the Hungarian community in the southern area [Vojvodina].

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[Csubela] Kovacs emphasized that the situation of the Hungarians beyond the border is a priority for the Hungarian Government and he considers bilateral cooperation as an issue of stability. We also reviewed the seemingly complicated issue of how big the receptivity of the international organizations is in this respect. Serbia is not a member of several international federations, therefore, joint action might be difficult.

[Udvardy] What conclusion did you come to as regards the situation arisen as a result of the wave of Krajina Serbian refugees?

[Csubela] During our conversation I emphasized that the settlement of the Serbian refugees is the result of a conscious and devilish plan and policy. In the history of making the Vojvodina Serbian, this is the fifth and, at the same time, strongest wave. I informed the foreign minister which international organizations we had contacted and he promised to use his influence as chairman of the OSCE. I also suggested that the affected people should first be consulted before the Hungarian Government takes any steps in the issue of the national minorities.

[Udvardy] Do you feel that this is not happening?

[Csubela] In our view, it is essential for the Hungarian Government not to hold talks on vitally important issues of the Hungarians living beyond the border without including representatives of the national minority organizations. I again requested: If they take a step in connection with our issues, they should do this together with us. After the signing of the Slovak-Hungarian Basic Treaty, I felt that the Hungarian Government had failed to do this. I told Kovacs that we expect not to be made to face ready facts. If the Hungarian Government starts talks with the Belgrade Foreign Ministry, our representations should also be included because, in this case, the Serbian side will not be able to equivocate the issue at the negotiating table.

[Udvardy] Can the flood of Serbian refugees, which has in recent days swollen to 90,000 people, mean an immediate danger?

[Csubela] Vojvodina had the biggest density of population and the biggest unemployment level anyway. At the moment, the police are preventing the original inhabitants from being forced to leave and Belgrade has also instructed that no further refugees should be directed here. Nevertheless, they continue to arrive in groups of a hundred, in cars and on tractors. The huge crowd that has been settled here is endangering the operation of the schools and could create a tragic situation in the long run.

Further on Serb Refugees

LD2408163995 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1500 GMT 24 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Serbian soldiers expelled the Serbs from their homes after the collapse of the Krajina state. What is more, it was the Serbian Army that directed them to Vojvodina [Vajdasag]. This was claimed by Ferenc Csubela, chairman of the Federation of Vojvodina Hungarians [VMSZ] in Budapest. Csubela said the settlement of 90,000 Serbs cast doubts on the survival of Hungarians in Vojvodina.

Bela Csorba, a politician of the Democratic Community of Vojvodina Hungarians [VMDK], the other ethnic Hungarian organization in Vojvodina, said the Hungarian Government has raised its voice against the changing ethnic proportions, since pressure on Hungarian-populated localities has eased to a certain extent.

HSP Says New Government Post Unnecessary

LD2508123695 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1000 GMT 25 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Text] According to a deputy chairman of the leading government party, it is not true that a new government post is needed to coordinate the economy. Judit Csehak told Hungarian television's Daybreak program that she does not find it useful for the government to be extended by a new member, who would work either against the finance minister, who enjoys the support of the Hungarian Socialist Party [HSP] parliamentary group, or support Lajos Bokros, since one solution would make decisionmaking more difficult and the other would slow it down.

The HSP deputy chairman added that nobody among the leaders of her party will take any steps to put the Alliance of Free Democrats into a difficult situation, thus jeopardizing the coalition.

Confirms SZDSZ Coalition Talks

LD2408130695 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1000 GMT 24 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] So far there has only been leaked news about the Alliance of Free Democrats' [SZDSZ] wish to hold a coalition meeting with the leadership of the Hungarian Socialist Party [HSP] to coordinate views on the future of the coalition. The news, however, was officially confirmed from both sides a little while ago. Krisztina Hadas reports.

[Hadas] An hour ago the HSP leadership was officially informed about the SZDSZ proposal to hold talks. They want the SZDSZ executive body and the HSP presidium to meet and discuss topical issues of the coalition. HSP

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Executive Deputy Chairman Sandor Csintalan said the following:

[Begin Csintalan recording] Balint Magyar has just called me and said they are proposing talks. [passage omitted] In the next hours we are going to discuss it within our circles. I think a meeting of this kind can be held. [end recording]

[Hadas] It is not known yet what will be discussed at the meeting. SZDSZ Chairman Ivan Petoe told this program that they will not necessarily discuss differences over the changes in the government. He said it was important for the two parties' leadership to hold talks since government tasks can also be discussed at forums other than the coalition coordination talks. Ivan Petoe said:

[Begin Petoe recording] Issues like the functioning of the government and what tasks it faces after one year in office and in light of future plans should not be discussed by six people only. They do not only concern the government but also the two parties' leadership. We proposed that first the situation should be assessed and then conclusions should be drawn. [end recording] [passage omitted]

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British UN Camp in Gorazde Attacked

AU2508072495 Paris AFP in English
0611 GMT 25 Aug 95

[FBIS Transcribed Excerpt] Sarajevo, Aug 25 (AFP)—The British UN camp in the eastern enclave Gorazde has been attacked in a brief firefight that left two men wearing Bosnian Army uniforms dead, UN spokesman Lieutenant Colonel Chris Vernon said on Friday [25 August].

The assault began at 11:00 p.m. (2100 GMT) Thursday and lasted a quarter of an hour, Vernon, who described the action as a "heavy firefight."

There were no British casualties.

Vernon said that on other occasions intruders had entered the camp and tried to steal from the British but that this was different because it came with supporting artillery.

"The main point was it was a considerable attack," he said. He said he did not know how many troops were involved in the assault because it was dark.

The United Nations is in the process of pulling out of the eastern enclave, with 72 peacekeepers from the Ukraine transported out on Thursday and the British planning to follow suit as soon as they can get Bosnian clearance.

When two other eastern enclaves, Srebrenica and Zepa, were falling to Bosnian Serbs in July, Bosnian Army and Bosnian Serbs regularly pilfered from the UN camps in Gorazde.

The United Nations has said that the Ukrainian contingent was reduced to paupers by the thefts, with their equipment at the time they pulled out consisting of one broken down truck and one rifle, according to UN spokesman Alexandre Ivanko. [passage omitted]

But with the 170 British troops and officers and 10 Norwegian medics coming out, a UN official in Zagreb said privately on Saturday that the city was at the mercy of Bosnian Serbs. "If the Serbs want to ethnically cleanse Gorazde, they can do it," he said.

UN Protests Attack

AU2508101695 Paris AFP in English
1002 GMT 25 Aug 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Sarajevo, Aug 25 (AFP)—The United Nations has protested to the Bosnian Government over an attack overnight on UN peacekeepers in Gorazde, UN spokesman Alexandre Ivanko said Friday [25 August].

Bosnian Army troops attacked a British peacekeepers' camp in the eastern Moslem enclave late Thursday, and two Bosnian soldiers were killed in the ensuing 15-minute firefight, said Lieutenant Colonel Chris Vernon, a spokesman for the UN Protection Force [UNPROFOR].

"Although UNPROFOR cannot believe that this attack was sanctioned in any way by local government authorities, nevertheless UNPROFOR demands that the Bosnian Government ensures that no such attacks against UN personnel happen in the future in territory controlled by Bosnian Government forces," Ivanko said.

He added that Gorazde civilian and military authorities were assisting in restoring order after the attack late Thursday.

British Troops Depart Gorazde

AU2508082095 Paris AFP in English
0809 GMT 25 Aug 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Sarajevo, Aug 25 (AFP)—British peacekeepers attacked by Bosnian Army troops at their UN camp in the eastern town of Gorazde will be leaving the mainly Moslem enclave early Friday [25 August], said UN spokeswoman Myriam Sochacki.

The British troops had been awaiting Bosnian Government clearance to move out of the camp following a UN decision announced on August 18 to pull out of Gorazde.

The British troops received clearance to move out early Friday and British troops were expected to begin a convoy out at 10:00 a.m. (0800 GMT), said Sochacki.

UN spokesman Lieutenant Colonel Chris Vernon said that two Bosnian Army troops were killed in the 15-minute heavy firefight at the camp late Thursday.

There were no casualties among the Royal Welsh Fusiliers at the camp.

Vernon said the assault with machine-gun and small arms fire had come from a hill beyond the fence. The two Bosnian troops who died had penetrated the fence.

"What is not clear is whether this was a rogue banditry element but nevertheless it was Bosnian army troops," he said. "It certainly wasn't Bosnian Serbs."

He said that on other occasions intruders had entered the camp and tried to steal from the British but that this was considerably fiercer.

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Ukrainian Troops Reach Zagreb

AU2408185795 Paris AFP in English 1802 GMT 24 Aug 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Sarajevo, Aug 24 (AFP)—Ukrainian UN peacekeepers withdrawn from the Bosnian enclave of Gorazde arrived in the Croatian capital Zagreb Thursday [24 August], in the first part of a two-stage UN withdrawal from the last eastern Bosnian enclave, a UN official in Sarajevo said.

The 72 Ukrainian peacekeepers left Gorazde late Wednesday, spent the night outside the enclave, and made their way Thursday first to Belgrade and then to Zagreb, said Colonel Pierre Briere, a UN spokesman here.

The 170 peacekeepers and officers from Britain and 10 medics from Norway attached to the UN unit will leave as soon as they receive authorization from Bosnian government officials to do so.

That permission is expected in the immediate future, said UN spokeswoman Myriam Sochacki.

Aid Group Urges Safety Guarantees for Gorazde

AU2408210395 Paris AFP in English 2045 GMT 24 Aug 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Brussels, Aug 24 (AFP)—The humanitarian group Medecins sans frontieres (MSF, Doctors Without Borders) called Thursday [24 August] on the international community to guarantee the safety of the people of Gorazde, in eastern Bosnia. The group called for "clearly expressed guarantees" from the international community to ensure the 60,000 inhabitants of the Moslem enclave are protected, in a statement issued here.

MSF said it "fears that the sudden departure of the UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] soldiers means another abandonment by the international community," and that the people of Gorazde would be "once more victims of the policy of ethnic cleansing" if "alternative protection measures" were not put in place.

"The members states of the Contact Group (Britain, France, Germany, Russia and the United States) are responsible for the fate of the besieged civilians, who they firmly committed themselves to protect at the London Conference on July 20," the statement said. "The situation inside the enclave, which is under constant attack by Serb forces since the beginning of the year, is still as serious," it added.

Today, 72 Ukrainian peacekeepers arrived in the Croatian capital Zagreb after leaving Gorazde, the first part of a two-stage UN withdrawal from the enclave. Some 170 British peacekeepers and 10 Norwegian medics are due to follow them out soon.

Member states of the Contact Group have denied the withdrawal constitutes an abandonment of the enclave, arguing Serb aggression would be met with airstrikes under the provision of new guidelines drawn up at last month's London Conference.

Sacirbegovic: Serbia To Choose Negotiators for Pale

AU2508152995 Belgrade NASA BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 23 Aug 95 p 2

[Interview with Foreign Minister Muhamed Sacirbegovic by Mirko Klarin in Brussels on 21 August: "Belgrade Will Select Pale Negotiators"]

[FBIS Translated Text] On his way to Washington to attend today's funeral of the U.S. diplomats killed on Mt. Igman, Bosnia-Herzegovina Foreign Minister Muhamed Sacirbegovic stopped over for a few hours in Brussels for talks with members of the EU. Considering that last week the European peace process was declared "dead and buried" in Sarajevo, we asked the Bosnian foreign minister whether he had come to Brussels to lay a wreath on the grave of the European peace process.

"No, not at all," Sacirbegovic said. He explained last week's "misunderstanding with Bildt," claiming that "it is not true that Sarajevo will not talk to him." He added: "Although the present initiative is considered to be a U.S. one, we believe that Europe is involved in it. It is involved on many levels: political, legal, and economic. One of the things that I heard today (in talks with the EU) that encouraged me was that Bosnia-Herzegovina can count on becoming a member of the EU one day. When it comes to a peaceful solution for Bosnia-Herzegovina, one has to keep these institutions and their economic aid in mind. You cannot build a country if you do not keep in mind the future of that country in the international community. The EU demands a certain standard when it comes to the question of democracy, legal order, human rights, and economic maturity."

[Klarin] Is Bosnia close to that?

[Sacirbegovic] I have to admit that we still have a long way to go. However, since this is, at least in name, a U.S. initiative, and since it has some kind of a system to exert pressure on the side that does not accept peace, it may stand a better chance than the others. The only reason why I can be a bit more optimistic now than before is that the previous plans did not have well-defined mechanisms for pressure on sides that do not accept them.

[Klarin] They say that last week's Contact Group plan contained such mechanisms.

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[Sacirbegovic] They were generalized; they did not have a mechanism for implementation. It is a little different now.

[Klarin] European reporters from Sarajevo say that the part that contains the threat to the Bosnian Serbs if they reject the plan is the Bosnian Government's favorite part.

[Sacirbegovic] The mechanism is still not in place. There are only elements of it. But I would not say that that is what we like most of all. It is something new; it opens new possibilities. Neither the old nor the new maps are something we hold dear to our heart, but they were acceptable in the given political circumstances. Therefore when someone offers us a new map, it means nothing unless there is a political will to implement it. If there is anything new in the U.S. initiative, then it is this will to implement it in practice.

[Klarin] What is the current status of this initiative?

[Sacirbegovic] It is currently on ice until the new U.S. delegation is formed. It is important to stress that it is an initiative and not a precise plan with a detailed sequence of moves. The sequence of moves should be set up soon and then the plan formulated, which can then be praised or criticized.

[Klarin] No one has so far discussed this initiative with the representatives of the Bosnian Serbs.

[Sacirbegovic] I know that the Americans are prepared to talk to anyone within the Belgrade delegation. Belgrade decides who is in that delegation.

[Klarin] Contact Group circles say that nobody is any longer in the mood to talk to Karadzic.

[Sacirbegovic] There are other Bosnian Serbs apart from Karadzic. There are Serbs in our government and in our country and they will be involved in the decisionmaking process.

[Klarin] As part of your delegation?

[Sacirbegovic] There is still no delegation. We are still to find a balance in the representation of the Republic and the Federation in the negotiating and decisionmaking process. This is a structural problem. But Serbs will definitely be in the delegation that will negotiate on the behalf of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina. As members of the Presidency, Assembly, and government, they can already make their views known on these initiatives.

[Klarin] Can they talk on the behalf of Pale?

[Sacirbegovic] Belgrade will select those who will talk on behalf of Pale.

Alispahic: Abdic Implicated in Ljubijankic's Death

LD2408213095 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 24 Aug 95

[Studio interview with Internal Affairs Minister Bakir Alispahic by an unidentified announcer—recorded]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Announcer] Mr. Minister, good evening. [passage omitted] During the liberation of Velika Kladusa, our colleague Josip Vujevic went into Muslim leader Fikret Abdic's video archives, contained in a bunker, hidden away from the public. A video report of a session of the Velika Kladusa Municipal Assembly clearly shows that the deputies rejected Abdic's concept of autonomy and voted for a unitary republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina. In other words, this is another piece of evidence that Abdic and a group of his followers literally carried out an autonomist coup. [passage omitted]

They tried to hide the truth. When the initiative failed to be approved in Velika Kladusa, on 16 September 1993 the assembly of the Bihac district decided to halt the initiative which, if carried out further, would cause serious political and military disturbances in the Bihac district. Those who believed at the time that reason had prevailed, were very wrong. Several days later, Fikret Abdic willfully proclaimed autonomy, hiding behind signatures, or in other words, cheating ordinary people, citizens and workers. [passage omitted]

[Alispahic] I would like to comment on this footage and say the following: Abdic's entire strategy of his hostile stance toward Bosnia-Herzegovina was based on money with which he tried to buy assemblies and votes.

At the moment he is giving money to the refugees around Vojnic, his people, I say his people in quotation marks. We are talking about a group of around 400 people. We submitted a list of their names to the Croatian side, intending to keep them on their territory for the time being because it could be dangerous for them to come to our territory. He is thus keeping those people there. They are paid to maltreat the people who are held like hostages. Some 400-500 members of Abdic's extremist followers keep around 15,000 people in a difficult, almost hopeless situation. This is why we are taking very determined, serious and concrete measures to solve the situation.

Since money was his strategy, we came in possession of some material there in the Velika Kladusa area. This material makes a certain link between the murder of late [Bosnian foreign minister] Irfan Ljubijankic and some of Fikret's people. I think we will soon manage to solve this case. True, it will be too late for Irfan, but it is never too late for justice.

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[Announcer] I am surprised. It seems to me that this is the first time that this element in the investigation into Ljubijankic's death has come to the surface: the direct involvement of Abdic's men.

[Alispahic] I am surprised too. We found some specific documents that link the murder of late Irfan with Fikret Abdic's mercenaries. I think the investigation will now be speeded up, and yield positive results.

[Announcer] Mr. Alispahic, thank you very much.

[Alispahic] Thank you.

Bicakcic Clarifies Remarks on Herzeg-Bosnia

AU2508111395 Split SLOBODNA DALMACIJA in Serbo-Croatian 24 Aug 95 p 2

[Interview with Edhem Bicakcic, acting member of the Presidency of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina, by Z. Soldic; place and date not given: "Those Are Not My Words"]

[FBIS Translated Text] According to an agency report, Edhem Bicakcic, acting member of the Presidency of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina, announced in OSLOBODJENJE "the extinction of the Croatian Republic of Herzeg-Bosnia by New Year." We asked him to explain that statement.

[Bicakcic] In my statement given to OSLOBODJENJE I said that after the meetings of Croatian and Bosniak delegations in Split and Jablanica the conditions were created for the Federation to start normal full-scale functioning in all the free territories of Bosnia-Herzegovina. The bases have been formed for one government to start functioning and the modalities of that will be determined by a group of experts. Having established cantonal and municipal authorities, that is, having carried out the arbitrator's decision, we can expect the Federation to start functioning normally by the end of this year. That is the appraisal of both Croatian and Bosniak authorities, so the conditions for the actual life of the Federation have been created. The editor of OSLOBODJENJE has extrapolated the headline you have heard, but it does not correspond to the factual statement.

[Soldic] Does that mean that you did not use the term "extinction"?

[Bicakcic] No, I was not talking about the extinction, I was talking about the start of the normal functioning of the Federation by New Year.

[Soldic] What can you tell us about the new U.S. plan?

[Bicakcic] We do not have the complete plan, we only have the general ideas which the U.S. delegation reported to us, but we expect that the complete plan will be offered in principle. President Izetbegovic has defined 12 points on which the Presidency insists the Americans should respect when determining the plan. In principle, we have agreed that both Bosniak and Croatian delegations act together on the basis of the agreed platform, and that all possible different precepts should be discussed. If there will be any.

SDA Demands Sarajevo, Access to Drina, Sava

AU2408143995 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 24 Aug 95

[Report on news conference by the Party of Democratic Action by Senada Cumurovic held in Sarajevo on 24 August—recorded]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Cumurovic] The important thing is that the U.S. Initiative is based on the Contact Group plan, Ismet Grbo stressed, speaking of the party's stance.

[Grbo] The Party of Democratic Action [SDA] expects the United States to offer a plan for the resolution of the crisis in Bosnia-Herzegovina. In that respect, a meeting has been arranged for next week between Alija Izetbegovic, chairman of the party and president of the presidency, and Mr. Holbrooke and French President Chirac in Europe.

[Words indistinct] that will on the agenda is, first of all, a free Sarajevo under the control of the legal authorities of the Republic and Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina; second, our access to the Drina and Sava Rivers; and third, something that is not debatable, and that is the access of the Federation to the Adriatic Sea.

[Cumurovic] SDA Secretary Mirsad Ceman spoke about the struggle for the unity of the Bosniak people, which is one of the commitments stipulated in the party program. [passage omitted]

Muslim Expellees From Serb-Held Areas Arrive

AU2408205195 Paris AFP in English 1914 GMT 24 Aug 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Sarajevo, Aug 24 (AFP)—A group of 110 Moslem refugees from Serb-held northern Bosnia arrived in the front-line central Bosnian town of Turbe Thursday, the official Bosnia-Herzegovina television reported. Looking thin, pale, and worn, the mainly women, children, and elderly people had been expelled from the Serb-held towns of Sanski Most and Kljuc, as well as Glamoc, before it was retaken by the Croatians in early August.

The estimated 355,000 Moslems who lived in the region in 1991, the year before war broke out here, have been

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trickling out for more than two years, and the 110 Moslems who arrived in Turbe on Thursday were part of that stream. "This is just a part of a group that we've been expecting," said Samir Seter, of the Bosnian Army Seventh Corps. "Next Tuesday, we'll have around 300 Moslems from Teslic arriving, then on Saturday around 1,000 from Bosanska Krajina." Teslic and Bosanska Krajina are also Serb-held towns.

Radovan Glogovac, of the Bosnian Serb Exchange Commission, told the television that it was difficult to assure the safety of non-Serbs living in northern Bosnia. "It is very difficult to prevent and punish mistreatment and provocations. Nobody, including the police and army, can eliminate the fear that the population feels," he said.

Serbs in the Banja Luka region expelled more than 11,000 Croats and a few Moslems in the latest wave of organized "ethnic cleansing" which began August 14, packing them onto buses and deporting them into Croatia.

The last big group of Moslems to arrive in Turbe was a group of 53 who arrived on August 17.

Sarajevo Council Discusses Winter Energy Needs

AU2408152895 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 24 Aug 95

[Report by Samir Huseinovic on the session of the Sarajevo City Council held on 24 August—recorded]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] The councillors were mostly interested in the point on the agenda concerning natural gas and electricity supplies in Sarajevo, particularly [words indistinct] in the coming winter.

Nermin Pecanac, deputy chairman of the City Council, reported on plans to supply the city with natural gas and electricity. His report indicates that the citizens of Sarajevo will most likely spend this winter with limited electricity supplies, but bottles of butane gas will be delivered, and there will be minimal quantities of fuel, while the situation with natural gas supplies is uncertain.

In connection with this, certain measures have been undertaken toward the implementation of existing plans that envisage the stabilization of the electricity situation, referring to the new supply project that is in preparation. As for the deliveries of bottles of butane gas, a certain regularity has been achieved and one can expect that, if imports remain at this level, the bottles will be freely available for sale.

There will be efforts in cooperation with Hungary to regulate the natural gas deliveries, but that is something that the City Council cannot really affect. In the debate on this issue, some councillors said that many decisions had never been implemented and nobody had been held responsible for it. Objections were also raised in connection with the distribution of electricity. An initiative was presented that the number of people per household should be taken into account during distribution and that the number of priority consumers should be reduced to allow more electricity for general consumers. [passage omitted]

Article Examines Personnel Changes in Army

AU2408140695 Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 18 Aug 95 p 7

[Article by Alenko Zornija: "The Great Change of Generals"]

[FBIS Translated Text] A great change of generals has taken place in Sarajevo! At the session held on Tuesday [15 August], chaired by President Alija Izetbegovic, the Presidency of Bosnia-Herzegovina made the decision concerning personnel changes in the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army leadership. Naturally, the changes in leaders of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army Corps (a Corps roughly corresponds to a Regional Corps in the Croatian Army) attracted the most attention. General Vahid Karavelic will thus no longer be in command of the 1st, Sarajevo Corps, but will be head of one of the administrative departments at the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army Headquarters. Ramiz Drekovic, Atif Dudakovic's predecessor in Bihac, and until recently commander of the 4th, Mostar Corps, will also be head of one of the administrative departments at the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army Headquarters, the Department for Morale. Fikret Muslimovic, the controversial general in the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army, who was until recently the number one man at the Department for Morale and had earlier held a high position at the Joint Headquarters of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army and the Croat Defense Council [HVO], will now be advisor for military issues at the Presidency of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina, the position to which those who were to be moved away from the level of operational decision-making in the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army had always been appointed. The Presidency also made the decision to transfer Ramiz Suvalic, former assistant commander of the Headquarters at the Bosnia-Herzegovina Ministry of Defense, while Arif Pasalic, from Mostar, who was a commander at the time the conflicts between Croats and Muslims were beginning, will be military attache in Germany. Some other generals were made to retire, mostly those who had carried out advisory tasks: Rifat Bilajac, Muharem Fetahagic, Fikret Jakic, and Zicro Suljevic. Nedzad Ajnadzic and Mustafa Polutak are to be commanders of the 1st and 4th Corps.

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New Morale and Organization

The news of these personnel changes, which was carried by the state news agency, did not include explanations for the many rotations. It was stated that this was done following the proposal of the major officials of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army General Staff, who had held a session the day before. At this session, chaired by Rasim Delic himself, the General Staff probably shaped the proposal for the personnel changes for the Presidency session, as well as considered further directions for engaging the troops and commands of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army for, as was stated, as efficient a continuation of the liberation struggle as possible. Apart from the phrases commonly used on such occasions, it was emphasized that "particular attention was paid to the moral aspects significant for the efficiency of the liberation struggle." The somewhat unusual announcement from the General Staff meeting published on the cover page of OSLOBODJENJE obviously gained its full meaning only a day later, when the Presidency announced the changes in the Army.

The real reason for so many generals leaving can for now only be speculated. At first glance it becomes obvious that some of the commanders replaced so far played important roles at the time of the Croat-Muslim conflicts. For instance, general Vahid Karavelic was the executor of the shameful transformation of the Kralj Tvrtko HVO brigade in Sarajevo, which partly caused the silent ethnic cleansing of the Croats of Sarajevo, which has not stopped yet. Similar reproaches were directed to some others from the list of those recently replaced. Now that there is efficient cooperation with Croat forces, which are turning out to be sincere and the closest allies, the mortgages from the unfortunate Croat-Bosniak conflict could be a great ballast to certain people who may not have played the most honorable roles in that war.

The Unpopular Generals

Moreover, there has been talk in the Sarajevo lobbies for a while now about Karavelic's personal disagreement with certain commanders of the 1st Corps units, which allegedly resulted in open refusal to obey orders, and even in physical fights, which particularly escalated following certain failures during the latest Bosnia-Herzegovina Army offensive around Sarajevo.

Lack of suitability for high positions in the Army and interpersonal problems within the leadership were allegedly two of the several main reasons other rotations were carried out; most probably only reasons, causes being deeper. They primarily lie in lack of major military success. If the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army were recording victories, this change would have hardly ever happened, even more so as, with their great success, the Croatian Army and the HVO forces set new standards for "setting production quotas" in the fighting against the Serb rebels.

Karadzic's Serbs Report Mortar Attacks on Brcko

AU2408172795 Paris AFP in English 1639 GMT 24 Aug 95

[FBIS Transcribed Excerpt] Sarajevo, Aug 24 (AFP)—[Passage omitted] In western Bosnia, Croatian forces combined with Bosnian Croats kept up the pressure on Bosnian Serbs by shelling the towns of Bosanski Petrovac and Drvar, Bosnian Serb Pale Radio reported. No casualties were reported. [passage omitted]

Mortar, tank and cannon fire was heard overnight in the Brcko region, at the narrowest portion of the Posavina corridor which links Bosnian Serb-held territory in the east and west of Bosnia, the radio reported.

The station reported mortar shelling of Brcko, which left no casualties, and of Bosnian army lines.

Gradacac, about 30 kilometers (20 miles) east of Brcko, is held by the Bosnian Government. Brcko is Serb-held.

Tank movements were reported in the eastern portion of the corridor, with some regrouping of heavy weapons and equipment, the radio reported. [passage omitted]

Bosnian Serbs Attack in Bihac

AU2508104795 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1000 GMT 25 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] On the Bihac front, the aggressor is today carrying out sporadic attacks with 60-mm and 82-mm mortars. Attacks with small arms and snipers are more intensive.

The most pronounced aggressor's attacks are taking place around Bosanska Krupa. Using long-range artillery, the enemy attacked villages in the free parts of the Bosanska Krupa Municipality. Apart from new material damage to private property, there were no other consequences. [passage omitted]

Karadzic: No Surrender of Trebinje

LD2408173295 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 1641 GMT 24 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Nevesinje, 24 Aug (SRNA)—Radovan Karadzic, president of the [Bosnian] Serb Republic and supreme commander of the Armed Forces, said in Nevesinje today that the surrender of Trebinje or any other town is out of the question.

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On the second day of their tour of Serb Herzegovina, President Karadzic Momcilo Krajisnik, and Momcilo Krajisnik, president of the People's Assembly, today visited Nevesinje and toured the Serb fighters' positions on the Mostar-Nevesinje section of the Herzegovina battlefield.

Addressing representatives of civilian and military authorities in the Nevesinje municipality and the Serb municipalities of Mostar and Konjic, President Karadzic stressed that the aim of his visit to Serb Herzegovina is "to review the situation following the latest Croatian offensive against this part of the Serb Republic and to deny the rumors about the surrender or sale of this territory."

"The surrender of Trebinje or any other town is out of the question," the president of the Serb Republic said, and reiterated that "everything the Serb fighters manage to defend belongs to the Serbs."

President Karadzic today again stressed that the valley of the Neretva River is "an important strategic goal of the Serb Republic, which has not been and will not be renounced."

Following a tour of the Serb defense lines on the Mostar-Nevesinje section of the battlefield, the supreme commander of the Serb Republic Armed Forces commended the soldiers and officers of the Nevesinje Brigade and the Herzegovina Corps commander, General Radovan Grubac.

During the visit to Bileca and Trebinje yesterday, and in Nevesinje today, Momcilo Krajisnik said that he "noted optimism among local people and soldiers."

In talks with soldiers and representatives of the civilian and military authorities of the Nevesinje municipality, Krajisnik said that following the announcement of the American plan for solving the Bosnia-Herzegovina crisis, the war in the territory of former Bosnia-Herzegovina "is entering its final phase."

Krajisnik: Bildt Says Bosnia Will Be Divided

LD2408174095 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 1609 GMT 24 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Belgrade, 24 Aug (SRNA)—Momcilo Krajisnik, the speaker of the People's Assembly of the Serb Republic, has confirmed that "with the help of an embassy" he met Carl Bildt and Thorvald Stoltenberg, the cochairmen of the Peace Conference on Former Yugoslavia, in Geneva last week.

In an interview with tomorrow's issue of NIN, Krajisnik concluded that "considerable progress" was made at the meeting, because guarantees were received that two separate states with compact territories will be formed on the territory of former Bosnia-Herzegovina.

"However, the issue of constitutional principles is still open for discussion, because the international community is stubbornly sticking by the notion of one Bosnia-Herzegovina. But I believe that, if there is goodwill, a solution acceptable to all sides can be found," Krajisnik said.

According to him, reports that the Serbs and Croats had agreed on the sea access were not true. "On several conferences, the Croats understood and agreed to our request to get access to the sea, but these were just talks and we cannot trust Tudjman, because the Croats have already broken many promises made to the Serbs," the Serb Republic speaker said.

In an analysis of the current military and political situation in the Serb Republic, Krajisnik concluded that the main danger is over after the fall of western parts of Serb Krajina, "but there is a permanent threat from Croatia and the Croat-Muslim federation."

"The situation is still complex in the most exposed Serb Republic areas, because circles that are against this Serb Republic are waging a powerful propaganda there, propaganda that is being supported by and that even originates from some official circles in Serbia," the Serb Republic speaker said.

He voiced a conviction that there will be no further crises despite disinformation, because the Serb Army is holding firmly all lines of separation.

Speaker Krajisnik said the fact that there is a rift between the Serb Republic military and political leaderships could not be overlooked. "I do not know what is the intention behind the rift and what is its purpose, but it is obvious that the conflict occurred in the area of command, and for that reason President Karadzic made the decision that he later withdraw," the Serb Republic speaker said.

According to him, it was impermissible for the General Staff, that is, its Information Service, to issue statements, "because military personnel must pursue their profession. I believe that it is neither good nor justified for people not to obey the command structure, and I do not support statements made by the Information Service. They did not help us overcome problems, but they just poured oil on fire, which, I believe, was done ineptly and not maliciously," Krajisnik said.

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RS Official Praises U.S.-Proposed Peace Plan

AU2508084095 Banja Luka GLAS SRPSKI in Serbo-Croatian 21 Aug 95 p 1

[Commentary by Radomir Lukic, deputy foreign minister of the Serb Republic: "More Honest Conditions for Peace"]

[FBIS Translated Text] American emissaries of very high diplomatic and military rank are cruising throughout Europe, trying to win support for their newest diplomatic initiative among the most important factors of international politics, but also among some of the factions in the Yugoslav war drama.

The administration has not made public any details of the U.S. initiative, but, according to the old political pattern, it has brought out some of its elements in the U.S. and West European press which, in stating some details of the initiative, have drawn upon reliable and well-informed sources in the U.S. Department of State.

Given the risk that part of what the U.S. and West European press have been writing about the initiative is not accurate, the initiative itself could be assessed as generally positive, in the first place because of the very serious and apparent resolve on the part of the U.S. Administration to end the bloody conflict in former Bosnia-Herzegovina by a lasting and stable peace. A just, lasting, and stable peace that makes room for the national, political, and state independence of the three peoples in former Bosnia-Herzegovina is necessary in order to have creative spirit, cooperation, and constructive efforts instead of conflict, destruction, and disorder.

Moreover, also because the initiative, according to the foreign press, observes the political, military, and territorial reality and thus eliminates shortcomings of the so-called plan of the Contact Group, that is, eliminates the enclaves in the eastern part of the Serbian territory, widens the connection between the eastern and western parts of the state territory of the Serb Republic, offers a lasting settlement for the division of Sarajevo (where some 150,000 Serbs live in the territory under the control of the Serb Republic!), and finally, because it anticipates the possibility of confederal affiliation between the Serb Republic and the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia [FRY], regardless of whether the so-called confederation between the Bosniaks and the Croats supports it or not. In such a way the Serbs and the Serb Republic are offered for the first time since the beginning of the civil war some more honest conditions for peace, far more honest than those proposed by the Contact Group's plan, which was drafted in such a way that the Serbs and the Serbian Republic simply had to reject it, or else to drown their statehood and legitimacy in the phantom state of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

So much for the assessment of the contents of the U.S. peace initiative; now let us consider other elements on which its success depends. The first condition for success of the U.S. initiative is negotiations with the Serb Republic, which have so far earned a sort of international legitimacy for the republic through the status of warring faction. The fate of the Serb Republic is to be decided upon by the Serb Republic alone, because no one else has been authorized in legal, political, moral, or historic terms to negotiate on its destiny. That right cannot be taken away from it, nor restricted, unless the state does that itself, which can happen only if its state tissue and institutions decompose under pressure from abroad, that is, if someone seizes the entire authority in an illegal (unconstitutional and unlawful) and illegitimate (without democratic elections) way and eliminates its bodies (the parliament, the president, the government, the army, and local bodies of authority). Such a thing would be disastrous, reducing the Serb Republic from the status of a warring faction to the one of a rebel. The people in the Serb Republic do not want that, and whoever was to do that, the people and history would never forgive him. All those who at the moment stand at the helm of the state policy, diplomacy, or the Army of the Serb Republic must keep in mind the saying that is circulating these days among our people: "Lord, may their souls be damned, who have crushed the empire to pieces."

The second condition is that the U.S. Administration take the same attitude toward the warring factions, that is, put the same pressure on everybody. That will be difficult, because the U.S. Administration will have the greatest opponents among the U.S. Republicans, who are endeavoring, without any ethical consideration, to use the Bosnian question as an instrument for achieving their electoral goals, rather than to work together with the Democrats to find a lasting, just, and stable political settlement that will bring about peace in the region and cessation of human suffering, as well as to seek support among various Islamic and Arab lobbies that are active in the United States.

If the United States wants peace in the Balkans, it will establish it, and if it wants further low-intensity warfare, it will keep it up.

Yugoslavia's 'Communist' Influence Denounced

LD2408182795 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 1609 GMT 24 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Sarajevo, 24 Aug (SRNA)—In connection with the increasingly frequent attempts

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to cause a rift and undermine the state institutions of the Bosnian Serb Republic, and in response to many telegrams of support to the leaders of the Serb Republic, the Executive Committee of the Serb Democratic Party of Serb Lands [SDS SZ] today issued a statement, which SRNA carries in its entirety. The statement reads:

"In these fateful days for the Serb people, the Executive Committee of the SDS SZ constantly receives telegrams, calls, and requests concerning all the events in the Serb Republic, and especially in the Republic of Serb Krajina.

"Members of the SDS SZ and all patriots have expressed a clear stance and support for the state institutions and leaders, pointing out that in these times the Serb people are living through almost the most dramatic days in their history. They recall that five years ago, during the complete constitutional crisis in the former Yugoslavia, the Serb people found a shelter and solace in the SDS, which offered a program of national unity, democracy, and harmony, of national reconciliation and resistance to all enemy forces.

"In these years of war in the homeland and the national revolution, we have built, on the basis of the SDS program, a national policy of brotherly reconciliation and forgiveness, the high criteria of patriotism for the state, the paths to return to the Serb Orthodox Church, the foundations of freedom and democracy, a high level of national unity, and all elements of statehood in the form of the system's institutions, based on modern and democratic principles. In a word, we have built our state of harmony and democracy, of the Orthodox spirit, and of national culture.

"However, the revived communist forces, gathered around the Yugoslav left, are using methods of conspiracy and obstruction in order to topple the Serb Republic, just as they toppled the Republic of Serb Krajina through their fatal activity based on lies and rumors.

"Instead of national unity they are offering the ideological unity based on communism and leftism; instead of the symbolic figure of the national fighter, the defender of the Serb state, they are offering the figure of a young communist; instead of freedom and democracy they are offering the Contact Group's map, which means the loss of freedom for the Serb people in a unitary and anti-Serb state; instead of the national unity and pride, they are offering classification as either chetniks or partisans, believers or atheists, and life together and civil obedience.

"This is why the members and bodies of the SDS SZ and all patriots are right when they insist that all bodies and individuals, who bear responsibility before the state and the Serb people, should act in line with the Constitution and laws." [passage indistinct]

Article Views Mladic-Karadzic Conflict

AU2408103395 Belgrade VREME in Serbo-Croatian 14 Aug 95 pp 14-15

[Article by Milos Vasic: "President or General"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The conflict of General Ratko Mladic with the civilian authorities of the Serbian Democratic Party [SDS] in the Serb Republic has been going on since the very beginning of war in Bosnia. When he was appointed commander in chief of the Army of the Serb Republic in 1992, Mladic demanded that all the bodies of authority and the entire policy of the Bosnian Serbs be subordinated to the war and war efforts. He met with no understanding and Karadzic had to tame him quite often in private. The development of the war and the political climate in the Serb Republic during the past three years only strained relations between the army and the civilian authorities. The entire leadership of the SDS, local warlords, criminals, and rich private businessmen, the entire Serbian demimonde that was shouting patriotic slogans and waging their armchair war, were getting more and more on the nerves of the soldiers in the trenches.

The bitterness in the army grew, only to reach its climax in a rebellion referred to as "September '93" in Banja Luka. The soldiers from the front discovered that some were making hundreds of German marks on a monthly basis, while their families were receiving two German marks each. The circumstance that Banja Luka was a reserve position to which security services of the Yugoslav People's Army [JNA] had withdrawn from Slovenia and Croatia, and that the Bosnian Krajina was an important part of the doctrine of defense of the temporarily occupied territories, will play its own role in this story, and that role will get its personification. The rebellion September '93 was appeased by Mladic, thanks to his undoubtedly great charisma among the army and people. As for Karadzic, he did not dare to appear in Banja Luka for quite a while. This, however, did not bother him enough to restrain himself from making a statement two days afterward, praising "successful private entrepreneurs" (some of them barely survived the rebellion) as the foundation of future economic successes of the Serb Republic.

Bread and Butter

Neither Mladic nor other generals of the Army of the Serb Republic, all former JNA officers, were ever able to reconcile themselves with the fact that the army, in the middle of the war, was subordinated to individual

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interests of the people in power, and that it was waging war for its bread and butter alone. That they failed to understand the essence of the war is a different matter. It is never too late to understand where the catch is: He who is capable of robbing, expelling, or killing his neighbor just because he is of another religion is also capable of doing anything else, that is, to rob his compatriot when people of another religion run short, which eventually happened.

Another process was simultaneously unfolding: the estrangement between Pale and Banja Luka. The latter was never able to accept Pale, "a little mountain village with a TV station," as the capital. In an interview (in spring this year) General Mladic said something quite interesting on that matter: "In the General Staff we have made an analysis and realized that, of the bulk of the Serbian populace west of the Drina, some 74 or 75 percent live in our Krajina, that is, the region of Banja Luka. Of those 75 percent of the Serbian populace in the past war, more than 95 percent were Partisans, so that the reappearance of Chetniks would cause a real breach." This warning was very clear: An ideological factor was introduced into the game. Karadzic's vociferous chetnik-style anticommunism began to irritate the traditionally Partisan regions, and Gen. Mladic understood that quite well (his mother had miraculously survived a Chetnik attempt to burn her alive in a stable).

So we have here three lines of conflict: the social (war profiteers are given preference over soldiers), the regional (Pale's predominance over Banja Luka), and the ideological one (Chetniks vs. Partisans). There is also the fourth, political line: War or peace, that is, Karadzic or Milosevic. This one will be the most important for the final outcome.

Free of any prejudices and deaf to heroic gusle [traditional Serbian musical instrument, reference to Karadzic], the president of Serbia understood as early as in 1993 that the war in Bosnia was not developing as it should have. He increased pressure on Karadzic to accept the plan of the Contact Group, and began with political and police infiltration in the Serb Republic. Mutual insults and accusations crossed the line from which there was no return. Karadzic openly challenged Milosevic in his role of absolute leader of all the Serbs in the world, with the help of the Belgrade nationalist opposition and the Church. The daggers were drawn.

However, the combat disposal of forces gave Milosevic an advantage. The blockade at the Drina, it seems, is of a selective nature, so Mladic was getting minimal aid. This was because Milosevic, it seems, was able to explain to the West that, if it wanted to get rid of Karadzic, Mladic was necessary to him. Mladic, being a soldier, understood quite well what that was all about: If peace was not accomplished soon, there would be trouble. Karadzic had on his side the political power structure of the SDS and his own police forces, which he had been reinforcing in the months prior to the conflict, seeking a balance with the rebellious Army of the Serb Republic. Finally, on Friday, 4 August Karadzic lost his nerve and removed Mladic from the position of chief commander of the General Staff. This was wrapped in an unconvincing explanation about necessary coordination between the Army of the Serb Republic and the Serb Army of Krajina. On that same day Knin fell.

Generality

The next day, on Saturday, 5 August, Mladic replied to Karadzic: "I have entered this war as a soldier, and so shall I come out of it." He proclaimed Karadzic's decision unconstitutional and illegal, and said he would remain at his position as long as the army and people supported him. He accused Karadzic of working for the West and of supporting the new world order.

On Saturday and Sunday in Drvar (or Banja Luka, it is not known) the Collegium of Commanders of the General Staff met (all the generals save three who were justifiably absent, commanders of corps or regiments, or some divisions or brigades, quite a large conference indeed). The 18 generals signed a letter to Karadzic in which they rejected Mladic's demotion and pledged loyalty to him, invoking people and the army. The message was clear: Radovan, you had better think of something else. Karadzic in return called a meeting of the Assembly of the Serb Republic (with massive security measures taken by his police) and won unanimous support of assembly deputies against Mladic. Before the start of the meeting on Mt. Jahorina, on Tuesday 8 August, Karadzic said that Mladic must obey him, because he was the supreme commander.

General Mladic did not even think about obeying him. His representatives at the Jahorina meeting, Generals Milan Gvero and Zdravko Tolimir, listened to the introductory address, read the letter of 18 generals and the Collegium, and left the meeting.

Immediately thereafter on Sunday, 6 August, Radio Belgrade in it "News of the Day" broadcast (1500) called General Mladic "a man of peace who is ready to sign the peace plan of the Contact Group." Then a propaganda barrage started, blaming Karadzic for the loss of western Slavonia, Bosansko Grahovo, Glamoc, Knin, and the rest of the Republic of Serb Krajina. "The warmongering policy of Pale" and its "war-profiteering allies" in the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia [FRY]

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were denounced as responsible for everything. On several occasions Karadzic was called a gambler and profiteer.

The breach was final, the line of no return was crossed, difficult words were said, and they could not be withdrawn. In Belgrade on Sunday people were already making bets on how long Karadzic would last.

Relation of Forces

The matter is now reduced to an elementary political question: What is the relation of forces?

Karadzic controls Pale, a part of devastated eastern Bosnia and the rest of eastern Herzegovina. He also controls the part of the SDS apparatus that has enough interest in supporting him, fearing Mladic's aversion to war profiteers. Also, he has his own police forces (around 5,000 men, fathers of small children) whose loyalty will depend on the development of events, and he enjoys the support of extreme nationalists in Bosnia and the FRY ("patriotic" parties, hoping to overthrow Milosevic with Karadzic's help, and the militant Church).

Mladic is backed by all the generals and the majority of other commanders of the Army of the Serb Republic. Since he enjoys the absolute political support of Belgrade, he can assume with certainty that he enjoys other forms of support, the police, the military, and the logistic one. In terms of territory, Mladic can count on the Bosnian Krajina, the corridor, Bijeljina, and Zvornik, if not even Han-Pijesak, where the headquarters of the army is. When speaking about generals, these used to belong to the former Direction for Security of the JNA: Zdravko Tolimir (security service of the Knin Corps, now chief of the military security of the Army of the Serb Republic; Dragan Milosevic (commander of the battalion of military police in Sarajevo, now commander of the Sarajevo-Romanija Corps of the Army of the Serb Republic); Novica Simic (commander of a platoon of military police in the 5th Army, and now the commander of the Eastern Bosnian Corps); Bosko Kelecevic (head of security organs of the 5th Army, Zagreb, and now the head of the 1st Krajina Corps, Banja Luka); and Colonel Ljubisa Beara (now an important officer of the military security service), as well as many more, lower ranking officers. Other officers will hardly have courage or power to resist Mladic's influence.

So, it is about a military rebellion against Karadzic personally. The rebellion is led by Gen. Mladic, with the support of the regime in Belgrade, and there is no other name for it.

Shall we eventually have two Serb republics, just like we had two republics of Serb Krajina for three months (after the fall of western Slavonia)? Where will the border be, in Bijeljina, Zvornik, or Han-Pijesak? How long will the dual authority last? Who will win by surviving it? At this very moment, on early Thursday evening, it is too early for forecasts.

SRNA Commentary Attacks Gen Milan Gvero

LD2408131995 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 1610 GMT 23 Aug 95

[SRNA commentary]

[FBIS Translated Text] Sarajevo, 23 Aug (SRNA)—The key to success in the Serb people's liberation struggle in former Bosnia-Herzegovina lies in its right to self-determination and its state-building traditions.

It is no surprise, therefore, to find anti-Serb international players resorting to a fierce media campaign and misinformation in an effort to undermine the basic tenets of our struggle. We could not have expected anything different from them. But how are we to interpret persistent attempts by some domestic players, above all official Belgrade, in the final stages of the war in former Bosnia-Herzegovina to cause a rift in the [Bosnian] Serb Republic disregarding possible tragic consequences of their actions, as demonstrated by the events in the Republic of Serb Krajina [RSK].

It comes as an even greater surprise that some individuals in the Serb Republic itself have been encouraging these attempts by their irresponsible actions and pronouncements.

Just when the Serb Republic leadership, well-meaning patriots, moral authorities, and friends in other Serb lands and in the world are trying to overcome internal difficulties in order to help our defense and the efforts to defeat the joint enemy, domestic and foreign news agencies have once again been sent a statement by General Milan Gvero, assistant [Bosnian Serb Army] General Staff commander in charge of information and moral and religious issues, designed to generate mistrust of our state leadership and its legal institutions.

Like all the previous ones, this latest statement has been issued through the General Staff's Information Service because, Gvero says, he has been given "no opportunity to reply through regular and legitimate channels." So, General Gvero is aware that his conduct is both irregular and illegitimate, but this will do nothing to alleviate the damage he has inflicted on primarily the Serb Republic Army in which he serves as an officer.

While apparently advocating access to the media for Serb generals, and General Mladic, in particular, Gvero inadvertently lays the most severe accusations at his

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own door. The time has now come to reveal certain facts which, in the light of all the bans, censorship, and hypocrisy, will help to expose General Gvero.

To mark St. Vitus's Day, the patron saint of the Serb Republic Army, three biggest media houses in the republic, Serb Radio and Television, the daily GLAS SRPSKI, and the weeklies JAVNOST and OSLOBODJENJE, asked General Ratko Mladic for an interview. Verbal requests were addressed to the Information Service run by Milan Gvero. It replied that General Mladic did not want to speak. At the same time, however, General Mladic was interviewed in front of an amateur camera of the General Staff. This interview was then broadcast by Belgrade's independent station Studio B, while Serb radio and television and local radio stations in the Serb Republic were pressured to broadcast this unprofessionally shot footage at a later stage.

In that interview General Mladic justifiably expresses indignation that he has been denied access to the so-called big media in the Serb Republic. This suggests that he was not informed about the requests from Serb radio and television, GLAS SRPSKI, and JAVNOST and OSLOBODJENJE, i.e. it was precisely the information service of the headquarters under his command that was preventing his voice from reaching the public.

Throughout the three years of war, Serb Republic institutions in charge of information have approached the General Staff Information Service, often on behalf of most reputable world news agencies and television stations, asking for direct contacts with General Ratko Mladic. Again and again General Gvero would refuse, and instead would offer to speak to journalists himself.

If one takes a look at the publications published by units of the Serb Republic Army, it becomes instantly clear that in terms of numbers of photos, statements, and interviews Gvero gets twice as much exposure as all the other distinguished generals of our Army put together. Let us ask ourselves whether this is not an abuse of personal influence and a wrong editorial policy. To make things even more absurd, Milan Gvero is trying to disguise this policy with the signatures of other Serbian generals, who unlike him were trained to command in the Army and have been earning their reputation on the battlefield rather than with words.

In the former Yugoslav People's Army, Milan Gvero carried out the duties of an officer who lectures "the sons of all our peoples and nationalities" on brotherhood and unity and faith in the party, that is demagoguery and waging special war, something he is now unscrupulously waging against the Serb Republic and its leadership, which he branded in his statement yesterday as "individuals who have nothing to say."

Milan Gvero complains of censorship in the Serb Republic media, but it was on his orders that special censors were dispatched to the Serb radio and television studios in Pale and Banja Luka, Captain Nebojsa Divjak in Pale and Lieutenant Branislav Bozic in Banja Luka. The Serb Republic state bodies, however, decided to refuse access to these people, since experience has shown the bad effects of the type of censorship advocated by Milan Gvero.

Milan Gvero complains of arbitrariness, but it was he who recently stopped and banned any reporting from the front for 10 days and arrested two eminent journalists who tried to penetrate the information blockade he imposed on the Serb Republic media.

What kind of state single-partyhood is Milan Gvero talking about, for it is he who has installed secretaries of the Socialist Party of Serbia [Socijalisticka Partija Srbije—SPS] and other leftist parties at the helm of some information services in the Army? What benefit is there for the people in the fact that he dismissed his newly installed reporter, who had deliberately given the world the news that the Serb Republic Army was not going to the aid of the defenders of western Slavonia? This report was untrue and misplaced, but the Belgrade regime needed it in order to blame the state and military leadership for the fall of western Slavonia.

Let us ask ourselves whether the same man can tell the truth on behalf of both General Kadijevic and General Mladic's headquarters? Can the same man speak on behalf of the army which was not capable of preserving the former Yugoslavia and on behalf of the army that is defending the Serb Republic?

In his latest circular, entitled "The Arbitrariness of Bans and Censorship," Milan Gvero claims that the people and the Army want to know why Army officers and generals are not being allowed to speak in public. But the public must be aware that honorable Serb generals such as Mladic, Milovanovic, Talic, Simic, Tomanic, Milosevic, Grubac, Krstic, and others are always welcomed by the media, and that it is Gvero himself who is depriving people of these opportunities, because he wants to step in himself instead.

It is understood that General Milan Gvero has the right to the truth he invokes on behalf of the Army and the people. At the same time, instead of demagogic statements, Milan Gvero must provide the Army and the people with the truth and nothing but the truth. For instance, the Army and the people would like to know how much Gvero is being paid to do what he is doing. They would also like him at least to deny rumors that as a Serb general he belongs to the "July class" of officers,

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gathered, to the detriment of the Serb nation, by a certain lady in Belgrade.

The people and the Army are well aware, however, that Milan Gvero and some "moralists," least appreciated by the Army, have been distributing leaflets in trenches, among our children who are dying to ensure the survival of our state, questioning the land that is so sacred to us and that people have been dying for. The Army and the people know that Gvero's people have been asking the troops if they are for Karadzic or Mladic, as if one can be for the former and against the latter at the same time. It seems that General Gvero is least concerned about the tensions and the need to defuse them and bring about a rapprochement between Karadzic and Mladic. And why? Because he knows that if this happens his assumed importance would gradually decline and the chances of the Yugoslav Left assuming power by undemocratic means and destabilizing the state would simply disappear.

In his statements and defamatory remarks, General Gvero has failed to mention something said recently by a Belgrade-based communist official: "We will topple Karadzic with the help of Mladic, and Mladic himself will fall after two to three military defeats." He did not say that this is what happened in the RSK. But the people here, in the Serb Republic, who in the 1990 elections toppled the communists, can recognize a wolf in sheep's clothing. The people in the Serb Republic will never give up the freedom they have been enjoying because they fear a new communist UDBA [secret service in former Yugoslavia] and secret committees.

Correspondents Report on Srebrenica Conditions

LD2408202295 Paris France-2 Television Network in French 1800 GMT 24 Aug 95

["Exclusive" video report by correspondents Jacques Merlino and Georges Hansen from Srebrenica]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Announcer] [Passage omitted] The Muslim enclave of Srebrenica, which was also under the theoretical protection of the United Nations, fell into Serb hands on 11 July. [passage omitted] Here is an exclusive report from our special correspondents Jacques Merlino and Georges Hansen, who managed to get into the town which is now under Serb control:

[Merlino] The road to Srebrenica is not safe, and you have to take it fast: Snipers are still hiding in the ruined houses situated alongside this road for 20 km or so. All the houses are destroyed, those occupied by Muslims, and Orthodox.

In Srebrenica things are even worse; contrary to reports at the time, the town did not fall without resistance. Fighting lasted a week, and reportedly left 3,000 dead before the 40,000 inhabitants were driven out by the Serbs. Apartments were emptied, and the streets lie scattered with the remains of probable looting. There are a few people in this ghost town: Serbs who are now returning; officially there are 1,000 of them.

[Unidentified woman, in Serbo-Croatian with superimposed French translation] My five brothers disappeared, and I have had no news of them for three years. It was Muslims who kidnapped them. I don't know where they are. [passage omitted]

[Merlino] The hatred between the communities was boundless: The mosque has just been destroyed, but it is forbidden to film the ruins. Earlier, the Serb cemetery, with its chapel, had been desecrated.

[Second unidentified woman, in Serbo-Croatian with superimposed, French translation] They kept animals here in the chapel for three years. They turned our chapel into a stable.

[Merlino] But if the Serbs are complaining, they are nevertheless accused of committing mass crimes: About 6,000 Muslims have reportedly disappeared. According to the United Nations, mass executions took place, which is denied by the mayor of Srebrenica:

[Miroslav Deronjic, acting mayor of Srebrenica, identified from screen caption, in Serbo-Croatian, fading to superimposed French report] He denies categorically and totally that there were any executions.

[Merlino] As for the allegations about mass burial grounds made on the basis of satellite photographs, he replies:

[Deronjic, in Serbo-Croatian, fading to superimposed French report] He says why don't we go to the soccer ground? Let's go to the soccer ground. For the rest, send teams of experts who will be able to use the photographs to determine exactly....

[Merlino, interrupting report] Determining exactly what took place is not so simple. First, because the satellite photographs are not clearly defined, and then because the evidence is not obvious here on the ground. Here is the Srebrenica stadium. There is indeed a bulldozer and freshly turned ground, and on a surrounding wall clusters of holes from the impact of large caliber shells, but at the bottom of a trench is a telephone cable.

As for the other stadium, the one in Kasaba, the only one whose precise position was found by the satellite photographs, there is nothing special to be seen.

The truth about the mass crimes in Srebrenica will certainly take a long time to be established. But whatever the results of the investigations, the sight of this ruined town is enough to show the cruelty and madness which seized men here.

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UN's Gunness Explains Pullout From Safe Zones

AU2508094595 Vienna DER STANDARD in German 25 Aug 95 p 2

[Interview with UN spokesman Chris Gunness by Zdzislaw Gwozdz in Zagreb; date not given: "The World Knows the Truth About Croatia"]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Gwozdz] What does the United Nations think of the statements by its human rights commissioner Tadeusz Mazowiecki in his latest report?

[Gunness] Just as in the past, the United Nations thinks that any violation of human rights is an insult to the values of civilization and must, therefore, be categorically condemned. We welcome the readiness of the Serb authorities in Srebrenica to permit an international monitoring group in this area.

[Gwozdz] But Mazowiecki also criticizes the United Nations.

[Gunness] Mr. Mazowiecki justifies his resignation with his disappointment that the United Nations was unable to protect the security zones. This accusation is justified to a certain extent. But one must consider the matter thoroughly and see what had happened in Zepa and Srebrenica previously. The presence of the UN troops was the strength of the security zones. A small group of lightly armed soldiers were confronted with the Serb advance. What then happened to the Dutch soldiers, being surrounded, besieged, and threatened, explains a lot.

[Gwozdz] But the UN troops are withdrawing from Gorazde without a direct Serb threat?

[Gunness] In Gorazde the situation is different. After the Bosnian Army had taken most of their weapons away from the Ukrainians, we wanted to establish an international UN force for Gorazde but we were unable to do so. If we do not get the troops, we cannot do anything. We can use only our own resources. There remains the hope that the stipulations of the London conference on Gorazde will be observed.

[Gwozdz] In an interview with DER STANDARD, Croatian Foreign Minister Mate Granic for the first time criticized your statements on Croatian excesses in the Krajina. Shortly afterwards on radio, he threatened to demand that the United Nations replace you. How justified is his criticism?

[Gunness] I do not want to enter into public polemics with Mr. Granic. We confirm reports that have been checked and documented. My task is to pass on such reports to the press. The strength of our presence after the Croats crossed the dividing lines is our reporting. The facts on site are also known to others and they speak their own language. The international community and the diplomats know the truth. In my view, this serves the reestablishment of trust in Croatia. I see this as an essential part of my work.

[Gwozdz] Diplomats in Zagreb are whispering about your imminent deportation. Are you not playing the role of the messenger who is punished because he brings bad news?

[Gunnes] The task of the messenger is unavoidable. I am condemned to that. I cannot imagine that the Serbs like my comments on Mazowiecki's report or on ethnic cleansing in Banja Luka. My work does not consist of examining the various parties' opinion about me. It is my job to communicate with the outside world.

Tudjman Receives Bosnian Croat Leaders

LD2408210195 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 24 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Dr. Franjo Tudjman, president of the Republic of Croatia, has received a delegation of representatives of the Croat people in bodies of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Federation and representatives of the Croat Republic of Herzeg-Bosnia, led by Kresimir Zubak, Federation president and president of the Presidential Council of the Croat Republic of Herzeg-Bosnia.

After a meeting lasting over two hours, journalists were addressed by Jadranko Prlic, Federation minister of defense, and Federation President Kresimir Zubak. Andjelko Perincic reports on the brief news conference:

[Perincic] Having stressed that the entire Croatian political strategy was discussed, Jadranko Prlic, Bosnia-Herzegovina Federation deputy prime minister and defense minister, outlined the most important topics at today's meeting.

[Begin Prlic recording] The situation was assessed as stable, and also that it is favoarble for us in all respects, military, diplomatic, and all other respects. And we enter perhaps the final stage of the process of the resolution of the overall situation, bearing in mind the latest international initiatives.

Now more than before we underlined the need to revive the already reached economic agreement between Bosnia-Herzegovina and Croatia, which means the creation of a single economic area between the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina and the Republic of Croatia. [end recording]

[Perincic] Federation President Kresimir Zubak assessed the implementation of the Washington Agreements within the framework of the Federation:

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[Begin Zubak recording] It is true that the activities regarding the development of the institutions of authority of the Federation stagnated for a while when we waited for arbitration on some contentious issues, but we agreed, at a meeting in Jablanica and in the latest talks I had with Edhem Bicakcic, on a series of concrete issues that we are resolving. Speaking on the whole, I believe that a much more favorable climate is being created and there is a much greater willingness and readiness on both sides to work together on this project that we have accepted. [end recording]

[Perincic] Speaking about military cooperation between the three partners, Zubak said:

[Begin Zubak recording] After the Split declaration we believe significiant steps forward were made regarding military cooperation. This will very probably be continued in an even more successful way, but, in the present circumstances and conditions facing us, we prefer a political solution to the Bosnia-Herzegovina crisis, and so we are waiting to see how this current U.S. initiative is accepted by all the conflicting sides in Bosnia-Herzegovina and, generally, in the area of the former Yugoslavia. The future development of the situation depends on this. [end recording]

Minister on Returning Refugees Situation

AU2408160695 Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 20 Aug 95 pp 12-13

[Interview with Dr. Adalbert Rebic, minister without portfolio, by Drazen Curic: "Immediate Return for 60,000 People"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Fleeing Serbian terror for several years, from the beginning of the expulsion of the Croats from their homes and then to the river of refugees which started to flow from Bosnia-Herzegovina to Croatia, the most informed man about displaced persons and refugee issues in Croatia is professor Dr. Adalbert Rebic, minister in the Government of the Republic of Croatia and a priest for the last 30 years. We have talked to Professor Rebic.

[Curic] Professor Rebic, how many refugees and displaced persons are in Croatia now?

[Rebic] On 10 August there were 384,375 displaced persons and refugees, of which 197,337 are displaced persons and 186,988 are refugees from Bosnia-Herzegovina. Meanwhile, we have recently received numerous expelled persons from Banja Luka and the Banja Luka region, and a smaller number from Vojvodina and Srijem [Srem]. In only five days (13-17 August) we received 6,800 refugees expelled from the Banja Luka region and 460 from Vojvodina and Srijem. There are Croats, Hungarians, Albanians, Muslims, and Serbs among the expelled. The Croats from Banja Luka region have been very brutally expelled: They have been beaten up and they have to pay up to 2,000 German marks [DM] per person for their expulsion; the price of the ticket to travel is DM100, sometimes even up to DM500. In Srijem and Vojvodina the situation is different: the Serbian militia is trying to protect Croats, the Croats share their homes with the Serbs who moved in, and sometimes the militia succeeds in moving the intruders out of Croat houses. However, there have also been beatings, which the militia has not been able to prevent. The situation is tragic; the prospects are bleak. We are against any kind of forceful resettlement, against the expulsion from homes, because it creates psychological shocks and leaves deep and incurable marks on people. The Serbs from the liberated part of Croatia should have stayed and not have gone to Banja Luka and Srijem to make Croats flee their homes.

[Curic] How did you organize their accommodation?

[Rebic] At the moment around 87,000 people have organized accommodation, and all the others, around 286,000 of them, are accommodated privately or with their families. The refugees we receive these days we accommodate in schools, sports halls, and similar public facilities. We spend around 90 million Croatian kuna a monly from the State Budget for the care of refugees and displaced persons. To this amount should also be added the expenses for health care and education, which are taken care of by the Ministry of Health, that is, the Ministry of Education and Sport.

Reconstruction Is a Complex and Expensive Job

[Curic] How many displaced persons returned to western Slavonia after the liberation by "Operation Lightning," and how many of them can return into the liberated areas after the liberation "Operation Storm"?

[Rebic] After the liberation, a very small number of those displaced returned to western Slavonia. The reason is well known: all the Croat houses there have been completely destroyed as well as the infrastructure of Croatian villages. The infrastructure recovered first, and now the destroyed houses are to be reconstructed and thus the return of the displaced will be made possible. The Ministry of Development and Reconstruction repairs houses on the basis of contracts it signed with the displaced. Various state bodies have joined the reconstruction of the villages and towns from which the displaced were expelled: the Ministry of Transport and Communications (telephones, roads, bridges), the Ministry of Work and Social Welfare (centers for social work, social help), the Ministry of Education and Sport

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(schools, kindergartens), the Ministry of Internal Affairs and so on. The reconstruction of the destroyed villages and towns is a very complex and very expensive enterprise. Of course, sooner or later 14,600 displaced persons will be able to return to western Slavonia. Life in western Slavonia flourishes again: Everywhere there are people cleaning, removing trash, cultivating fields, reconstructing houses....

There are also the citizens of Banja Luka who have exchanged their houses with the Serbs and continue their new life here.

Regarding the recently liberated areas of Banovina, Kordun, Lika, and a part of Dalmatia, the return will be much faster. There are houses and apartments kept from destruction, particularly in the towns of Petrinja, Glina, Knin, Benkovac, Drnis, Obrovac, Gracac...into which the rebel Serbs had been moving the Serbs from Bosnia-Herzegovina and from other states. The displaced Croats can return to their houses immediately. For those individuals, whose houses or apartments have been destroyed, they will be able to return to houses or apartments which, after liberation through "Operation Storm," remained vacant and in the vicinity of their destroyed houses. From those temporary homes, they will be reconstructing their destroyed houses and gradually returning back home. We believe that some 60,000 people can return immediately, and the other 60,000 will return gradually in about a month.

Empty Houses Await Returnees

[Passage omitted] [Curic] Will the empty apartments in the liberated area be given to the displaced and the refugees?

[Rebic] Already, as of tomorrow, we start with settling the refugees newly arrived from Banja Luka and Srijem [Srem] into vacant apartments and houses in the liberated area; elsewhere we have no place to accommodate them. It is perfectly understandable that these people will move into the apartments and houses of those who banished them from their houses. Thus, we will make possible a decent life for the refugees to a certain extent, as well as the continuation of, to a certain extent, normal economic life in the liberated areas.

[Curic] What is the help from the international humanitarian organizations like?

[Rebic] Until recently, it was reduced significantly. In the last five days many international humanitarian organizations have been engaged again to offer us considerably more help to overcome severe humanitarian difficulties while we are receiving thousands of refugees daily.

Some People Do Not Wish To Return

[Curic] What about the Muslim refugees? Where are they accommodated and will their return to Bosnia-Herzegovina be possible?

[Rebic] There are approximately 60,000 Muslim refugees and they are accommodated privately, with families, and also in an organized manner in the refugee camps (Gasinci, Obonjan, Savudrija, Lipovljani, Kutina, former Army barracks in Pula, Klana, Varazdin...). They gradually return to the free and safe areas of the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

[Curic] What about Abdic's followers? How many of them have defected, what is their status, and why do they come back?

[Rebic] Abdic's followers who fled to the territory of the Republic of Croatia, into the liberated territory to the south of Vojnic, are not refugees in the real sense of the word. Nobody has expelled them. To the contrary, they are granted free return to their homes and safety of life. And even those who took part in Abdic's military units are granted absolution. In that regard, an agreement has been signed by the authorities of Bosnia-Herzegovina, Croatia, and Fikret Abdic. Therefore, there is no reason for them to be refugees somewhere away from their homes. These days they have been gradually returning to Velika Kladusa.

[Curic] Are there displaced persons who do not return gladly to their native places, for example, those who became very accustomed to their new surroundings?

[Rebic] Yes, there are, particularly those who have been accommodated in the towns of Zagreb, Zadar, Split, Sibenik, where they were given apartments for temporary use and where they have found jobs. Now that the largest part of the occupied territories is liberated, they will gradually, as their return becomes possible, lose their status as displaced person and give back the apartments they were given for temporary use. The opportunities for employment will be exceptionally large in the liberated areas. Indeed, by using some stimulating measures, we will have to "lure" workers from the big towns to come over there.

[Curic] How do the children who grew up in exile react to the return?

[Rebic] They mostly react the same way their parents do. The children who were born or grew up away from their parents' native place return now with their parents to their home with certain curiosity and joy. I am sure that, regarding those who were born or grew up in new surroundings, there will be tears in their eyes.

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Official: We Must 'Correct' Demographics

AU2508094295 Zagreb GLOBUS in Serbo-Croatian 18 Aug 95 pp 8-9

[Interview with Drago Krpina, representative of the Croatian Democratic Community in the Croatian National Assembly and president of the Assembly Committee for the Peaceful Reintegration of the Occupied Areas, by Djurdjica Klancir; place and date not given: "The Party in Power Has No Reason To Hurry the Election: The Historic Success of the Croatian Democratic Community Guarantees Its Majority in the National Assembly Even a Year Ahead!"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Passage omitted] [Klancir] Will some of the recently liberated towns in which the Serbs were the majority, and which are now ominously empty, present a problem for the Croatian authorities? What will happen with the districts that were supposed to have a Serb majority?

[Krpina] The recently liberated Croatian towns will not be ominously empty! They are not now! The towns and villages in which Serbs were the majority were, in fact, made artificially empty of Croats during the past 70 years. It is the task of Croatian state policy to correct all the consequences of the many years of Greater Serbian policy, which produced the unnatural demographic situation in these recently liberated towns. Until 50 years ago, Croats made up the majority in all these towns and villages, including Knin. Therefore, the Croatian state does not only have to bring back the refugees to the liberated areas, but also stimulate all other Croats to live in these areas.

At the September session of the Chamber of Representatives we will discuss the national program for the return of the refugees and restoration in the liberated areas. We will discuss very specific measures, tax and customs benefits, favorable loans.... These measures should be extended to all the other Croats who want to live in the liberated areas. At present it is very clear that the long-term stability and security of the Croatian state will depend on the demographic balance also.

For instance, according to the 1991 census, 3,700 people lived in Benkovac, of which only 700 were Croats. In the 1950's Croats had the majority of 70 percent in that town! The situation in Knin, Obrovac, and other towns was similar. Is this not another proof that Croats were systematically expelled from these areas, not only during the past four years, but during the past 50, and even a hundred? Croatian state policy should make it possible for all these systematically expelled Croats to be able to return to Benkovac, Knin, Obrovac, and other towns, and to Vukovar, Ilok, and Beli Manastir, for example, in the near future.

[Klancir] Does that mean that we can expect no districts with a Serb majority?

[Krpina] The Constitutional Law on Human Rights and Freedoms and the Rights of Ethnic Communities or Minorities was passed on the basis of the 1991 census. In the meantime, the aggression against Croatia occurred, and so did demographic changes. With the liberation of occupied Croatian areas a new demographic reality was created. The exact number of members of all the ethnic minorities, including the members of the Serb minority, will have to be determined soon. This has to be done in order for the electoral basis to be determined in which their representatives in parliament and the representative bodies of the local management and self-management will be elected.

Namely, the Constitutional Law on Minorities talks about the special rights of the minorities of which there are over 8 percent at the state, that is, at the local level. This Constitutional Law will be in force until the Parliament revokes or suspends it. However, it will be difficult to implement in these conditions; very few Serbs remained in many of the towns and villages. However, that does not mean that their civil and human rights will be diminished.

After all, it is a known fact that the Constitutional Law was passed under pressure from international forces, since there was a doubt that the conflict in Croatia occurred because of the allegedly unresolved status of the minorities. I claimed even then that the Serbs would not accept this Constitutional Law either, since the problem was not their minority rights, but the fact that they wanted to separate from Croatia and be incorporated into Greater Serbia. I claimed, even back then, that this ghettoization into districts was harmful primarily for the Serbs. Therefore, even if the districts are not formed, it will be good primarily for the Serbs.

[Klancir] I will ask you this as an official of the Croatian Democratic Community [HDZ]. There is an impression that the HDZ is unduly claiming credit for "Operation Storm," presenting it as its party success. Croatian Television has already broadcast reports from party meetings held in the recently liberated towns.

[Krpina] At the local elections, in February 1993, we held the election for 62 of the municipalities and six of the towns that were occupied at the time. We held the election in exile. In these six towns and in many of these municipalities the Croats were the majority. Of all the town and municipal councilors who were elected at that time, 95 percent are members of the HDZ! In 80

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percent of the cases the representatives of other parties did not even run for election. These are the facts that give the HDZ the right, as well as obligation, to appear as a party in these areas first!

President for Life

[Klancir] What is your comment on the fact that all the public opinion polls show that President Tudjman's popularity has increased very much? According to the GLOBUS opinion poll, after a refugee from Knin supported the position that Dr. Tudjman be appointed president for life, as many as 20 percent of the interviewees also thought that Dr. Tudjman should be elected president for life!

[Krpina] We have to understand the way the people feel. The people are happy and they want to express their gratitude to President Tudjman for being determined to conduct such action. He is the founder of both the HDZ and the sovereign and contemporary Croatia, and he has been leading it within the past five years in such a brilliant way that he has certainly secured his place in Croatian history as one of the most preeminent Croatian leaders.

[Klancir] How would you answer the following question in the opinion poll: Should Dr. Tudjman be appointed president for life?

[Krpina] I have not given that any thought. There is no constitutional possibility for anything like that yet.

[Klancir] There is indeed no such possibility, but are any of the HDZ representatives perhaps making preparations for such a procedure in parliament?

[Krpina] No, there has been no such official initiative yet. The present situation is that of exhilaration, and the sincere wish on the part of the Croatians to show particular attention to President Tudjman should not be viewed maliciously. One thing is clear, as long as President Tudjman wants to run for president, he will certainly win. However, let us leave that to democratic elections.

[Klancir] All the opinion polls show that since "Operation Storm" the HDZ's popularity has been well above the opposition's. Estimates appeared immediately after that, saying that if the HDZ want a smooth victory, they will start an early election, perhaps as early as this fall.

[Krpina] The HDZ has no reason to hurry. The successes we have scored are not short term. These successes are historical ones, which will not be diminished in a year. The election will be held when it is in the interest of the entire Croatian state. In the regular course of events, the election must be held next summer. If it is to be held somewhat earlier, the public will be promptly informed. After all, the opposition parties have been preparing for this election for three years.

[Klancir] On the other hand, oppositionist Manolic [Croatian Independent Democrats, HND] claims that it is now in the HDZ's interest to start the election as soon as possible, since it will not be possible for the HDZ to blame the failures in the economy, privatization, and so on, on the war any more, that the "post-Storm" stage will show all the great failures of the HDZ in domestic politics and the economy, and that the HDZ must make provisions for its future by holding an early election before all the failures become evident.

[Krpina] The HDZ has never blamed things on the war! We have always resolved both the problems that arose with the aggression against Croatia and all the problems in the shadow of the aggression. We have developed all the democratic institutions and striven towards resolving all the economic problems. It is true that in all the countries that found themselves in war democracy is limited to an extent, or the market economy is stagnating or failing. What Manolic is saying is only the cheap petty politics of a former "hard HDZ-er": the HDZ has, in fact, despite the war, managed to develop an ultrademocracy and an ultramarket in Croatia!

SNS Leader Criticizes 'Ethnic Cleansing'

LD2408150095 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 1335 GMT 24 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Zagreb, 24 Aug (SRNA-BETA)—Milan Djukic, leader of the Serbian People's Party [SNS], has assessed that the Croatian military action "Operation Storm" will go down in the history of the Croatian nation as "a synonym for ethnic cleansing."

"The Serbs have been reduced to only 3 percent of the population of Croatia, and even now we can say that about 500,000 citizens of Serb nationality have left Croatia," Djukic said at a news conference in Zagreb.

He assessed that the Serb national question had been "resolved by arms" and that this could be "the bloody road to some fresh actions." He therefore proposed that there be a renewal of political negotiations on resolving the dispute.

Djukic added that his party has information that the Serb people who fled to Serbia in the wake of the Croatian military action wish to return. He proposed that those who wish to return should be allowed by Croatia to return "without any insistence on papers." [passage omitted]

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Poll Shows Tudjman Most Popular Politician

AU2508113295

[FBIS Editorial Report] Zagreb GLOBUS in Serbo-Croatian on 25 August on page 8 carries an approximately 1,000-word report by Davor Butkovic on the results of an opinion poll on the popularity of Croatian politicians and political parties, entitled: "More Than 60 Percent of the Citizens of Croatia Do Not Want Early Elections; 51 Percent Believe That the HDZ Would Misuse the Triumph of the Croatian Army's 'Operation Storm'in the Election Campaign."

The report does not contain much information on when and how the poll was conducted, except that it was "carried out only in villages in order to check the influence of the HSS [Croatian Peasants Party] after 'Operation Storm' [in Krajina]," and that it was conducted "through personal contact."

The results of the poll are presented in two tables and two pie charts, and expressed in percentages as follows:

1. Who would you elect as president of the Republic? [1,950 citizens polled]

Tudjman	61.6
Budisa	11.6
Djapic	2.7
Pankretic	2.7
Tomac	1.4
Racan	0.9
Valentic	0.8
Paraga	0.6
Tomcic	0.6
Del Bianco	0.6
Granic	0.5
Mesic	0.5
Cacic	0.2
Prkacin	0.2
Dabcevic	0.2
Bobetko	0.2
Gotovac	0.1
Djukic	0.1
Separovic	0.1
Jakovcic	0.1

1. Who would you elect as president of the Republic? [1,950 citizens polled]

Do not know	11.9
Do not want to say	2.4

2. Which party would you vote for in parliamentary elections? [1,950 citizens polled]

HDZ [Croatian Democratic Community]	51.0
HSLS [Croatian Social Liberal Party]	15.6
HSS [Croatian Peasant Party]	5.8
HSP [Croatian Party of Rights]	4.7
IDS [Istrian Democratic Congress]	2.9
SDP [Social Democratic Party]	2.0
HND [Croatian Independent Democrats]	0.5
HNS [Croatian National Party]	0.3
AS [expansion unknown]	0.1
HKDU [Croatian Christian Democratic Union]	0.1
SDU [Social Democratic Union]	0.1
RIDS [Rijeka Democratic Alliance]	0.1
DA [Dalmatian Action]	0.1
Do not know	15.3
Do not want to say	2.3

3. Should early elections be held? [pie chart depicting results of the polling of 800 citizens]

No	60.9
Yes	23.0
Do not know	16.1

4. Would the HDZ misuse the results of "Operation Storm" in the event of an early election? [pie chart depicting results of the polling of 800 citizens]

Yes	51.0
No	32.3
Do not know	16.7

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Aircraft, Weapons Captured in Krajina Detailed

AU2408203595 Zagreb GLOBUS in Serbo-Croatian 18 Aug 95 p 2

[Article by Igor Alborghetti: "The Croatian Air Force Has Resolved Its Strategic Problem: A Squadron of Training Fighter Planes Was Captured at Udbina!"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Following the operation to liberate the occupied territory in former Sectors North and South, the Croatian Army has captured great quantities of military equipment. The Serb army in the "Krajina," which was well supplied, left the Croatian forces the greatest war booty of the war in the former Yugoslavia. According to information available so far, the Serbs in the former Sector North alone handed over 40 T-55 and M-84A tanks, an Orkan multiple rocket launcher system, some 30 M-80 and M-60 armored vehicles, about 100 vehicles (mostly trucks and jeeps), 130-mm guns, 105-mm and 122-mm howitzers, Plamen and Oganj rocket launchers, and about 100 60-mm, 82-mm, and 120-mm mortars. Some of the equipment has not been counted yet, particularly the small arms and thousands of metric tons of various kinds of ammunition. Moreover, the Serbs have become weaker still with the loss of the heavy equipment that was destroyed during the fighting.

The Serbs left the Licki Osik shell plant almost intact and it is already possible to produce 1,000 shells a day there.

A large underground warehouse with equipment and ammunition was discovered near Sveti Rok on Mt. Velebit. With several underground floors, the warehouse stored the strategic equipment and ammunition stocks for the former Knin Corps of the Yugoslav People's Army [JNA], which, after the war began, left all these stocks to the Serb rebels.

Apart from the many warehouses captured after "Operation Storm," it is also necessary to mention the large ammunition warehouses near Topusko, while Russian sea-to-sea missiles SA-N-2 Styx with a range of 60 km were captured near Knin.

What Was Captured at Udbina

The aircraft that were left in the hangars and concrete shelters of the military airport at Udbina may be the most important part of what the Croatian Army captured after "Operation Storm." There are 10 fighter aircraft: Supergaleb G-4, Galeb G-2, and Jastreb J-1. As soon as the technical documentation is complete, these will become part of the combat and training system of the Croatian Air Force. It is estimated that this will be in two or three months.

The best of these is certainly the Galeb G-4 or Supergaleb. In the opinion of many experts, this is an exceptionally successful product of the former Yugoslav Air Force industry, which used to be exported. As early as in 1990, 12 Galeb G-4's were sold to Malaysia.

The Supergaleb was produced at the Soko aircraft factory in Mostar, which was founded in 1951. The first prototype, the G-4, flew on 17 July 1978, the second a year later. This type of two-seater was constructed to replace the obsolete Galeb G-2A and Lockheed T-33, which had a dual role: that of an advanced training aircraft and a light fighter [napadac].

After the Supergaleb was first presented in public, air force experts pointed out its construction similarity to the British Hawk, which had a similar purpose.

The first Supergalebs became part of the Yugoslav Air Force in summer 1987, after minor technical corrections had been made. [passage omitted]

It was precisely this type of aircraft that the Croatian Air Force lacked in a tactical support role to infantry, since the use of MiG-21's had not turned out to be the best solution in such a role.

The Supergaleb is a slower, but much more maneuvrable aircraft, much better at avoiding antiaircraft guns and shoulder-launched missiles.

Training Aircraft

At the beginning of the war in Croatia, Belgrade Television showed video footage of a Supergaleb that had been hit, but not downed, by an antiaircraft missile of the type Strela 2M.

Even more important than the combat use of Supergaleb is that it is suitable for training pilots, for which the Croatian Air Force was mostly using the piston-engined Utva-75, deployed at the Zadar Education Center. With the capture of the Galeb G-4's the greatest technical problem in training new pilots, particularly in the transition from piston-engined to light jets, has been solved.

Moreover, with the arms embargo, Croatia could not buy jet trainers and could not successfully train new generations of fighter pilots.

Several Jastreb J-1's were also captured at Udbina Airport. The production of these began in the early 1960s, their purpose being to support infantry. [passage omitted]

The former Yugoslav Air Force had about 150 Jastrebs in 12 squadrons. After the production of the Orao J-22 ground attack aircraft began, the Yugoslav Air

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Force gradually started withdrawing the Jastrebs from operational use.

Apart from napalm bombs, shells, and ammunition for machine guns, about 100 British-produced BL-755 cluster bombs were also found in the warehouses near Udbina Airport. These are used to destroy enemy manpower in open areas. These bombs, each of which costs about 8,000 pounds sterling, can be used to arm the Supergalebs.

Six Extraordinary Bofors Guns

At the strongholds of the antiaircraft defense at Udbina Airport the Serbs also left a battery of state-of-the-art 40-mm Swedish Bofors L/70 guns. [passage omitted]

The weapons and ammunition captured during "Operation Storm" are a great contribution to the Croatian Army's technical equipment.

Even at this level it is possible to establish with certainty that "Operation Storm" paid off in both the financial and military-technical senses and that Croatia is now much less dependent on the uncertain import of arms while the embargo is still in force.

Departure of Serb Refugees From Knin Postponed

LD2408161095 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1500 GMT 24 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Text] During today's meeting between Colonel General Ivan Cermak, commander of the Croatian Army Knin mobilization center, and General Alain Forand, of the UN Confidence Restoration Operation [UNCRO], the Croatian side officially informed UN representatives that the announced Saturday [26 August] departure of 560 Serb civilians for Serbia has been postponed. Zeljko Rosko reports:

[Rosko] We inform you, Gen. Cermak says in an official note to the UNCRO command, that not a single person can be moved from your compounds until persons who are currently there and who have been charged with committing criminal acts against the Republic of Croatia, and who are on the list of 62 people which we have given to you, are delivered to the Croatian police and judicial bodies.

Gen. Cermak said that Gen. Forand responded positively to the request, adding that he did not want to hide war criminals in his compounds. He also asked to be given time to receive relevant instructions from the Zagreb UN headquarters.

Gen. Cermak also briefed journalists about an operation in the Knin hinterland by antiterrorist units of the Internal Affairs Ministry of the Republic of Croatia.

During yesterday's mopping-up operation, the antiterrorist unit made combat contact with three fugitive Chetniks who, after putting up some resistance, were killed.

Today, a new moping-up operation is under way in another area. It will be completed by 1800-1900.

UN Commander Comments

AU2408210295 Paris AFP in English 2048 GMT 24 Aug 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Zagreb, Aug 24 (AFP)—Croatia is stopping some 700 Serb refugees from leaving Knin, in southern Croatia, because UN officials will not hand over 62 of them suspected by the Croatians of war crimes, UN staff said Thursday [24 August]. "The situation seems deadlocked, I cannot see the UN changing its position on this question," local UN commander, Canadian General Alain Forand told AFP.

Croatian General Ivan Cermak, in charge of the military sector in Knin, informed Forand of his government's position in a meeting Thursday afternoon. General Forand cancelled the bus hired for the Saturday departure of the Serbs.

The refugees are currently holed up in the United Nations headquarters in Knin, where they fled on August 4 when the Croatians started shelling the former secessionist Serb stronghold in Krajina. For some days, the United Nations has been asking the Croatian authorities for a list of the suspects, detailing the crimes of which they are accused.

The list delivered on Thursday to General Forand only identified the suspects by name and date of birth. It has been sent to the UN headquarters in Zagreb, which is handling the matter. The United Nations also wants any interrogation of the suspects to take place at the UN base, in the presence of a UN observer.

United Nations officials earlier expressed the hope that most of the refugees would be able to leave Croatia by the weekend. They also appealed to Zagreb to respect the integrity of UN property, as laid down in an agreement signed on August 6 after the Croatian victory against the rebel Serbs.

EU Observers To Mediate Croat-Serb Talks

AU2508121895 Paris AFP in English 1202 GMT 25 Aug 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Podgorica, Yugoslavia, Aug 25 (AFP)—Officials from Croatia's historic Adriatic port of Dubrovnik are to meet Bosnian Serbs next week to discuss a cease-fire, European Union observers said Friday [25 August]. The date and venue for the talks

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were expected to be settled in Dubrovnik where the European mission is heading. A first meeting between the two sides was supposed to take place Thursday this week but was called off for unexplained reasons.

The European observers mediating between Dubrovnik and the Bosnian Serb authorities in nearby Trebinje went to Trebinje on Wednesday with a proposal from Dubrovnik local government chief Jure Buric for talks with the Serbs. Trebinje mayor Bozidar Vucurevic said the fact that the Croatian authorities were willing for a dialogue with Trebinje was already "a step forward towards a settlement in the Dubrovnik region." There was a lull on the ground Friday with the Bosnan Serb news agency reporting a Croatian attack Thursday "against civilian targets in Trebinje region."

On Friday, the "president" of the self-proclaimed Bosnian Serb Republic based in Pale, Momcilo Krajisnik said the breakaway Serb territory "upholds its natural right to an outlet to the sea." Trebinje is about 30 kilometres (20 miles) from Dubrovnik which has become the prize in a new round of bitter fighting which erupted on August 12.

Martic Notes Formation of 'Liberation Brigades'

LD2408181395 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 1641 GMT 24 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Banja Luka, 24 Aug (SRNA)—Milan Martic, the president of the Republic of Serb Krajina, has said that the Serb Army of Krajina has been consolidating its ranks and several liberation brigades have been set up.

In an interview for tomorrow's issue of GLAS SRPSKI, Martic thanked Serb President Radovan Karadzic and General Ratko Mladic, the chief of General Staff of the Serb Army, for their selfless help for the Krajina people.

"I thank in particular the Serb authorities for housing Serb Krajina refugees in Serb Republic areas from Petrovac to Bijeljina," Martic said, adding that some 60,000 refugees from the occupied areas of the Serb Krajina were in the Serb Republic.

Value of Abandoned Properties in RSK Viewed

AU2408131595 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 18 Aug 95 p 3

[Article by M. Pesic: "Deserted Property Is Worth 5 Billion Marks"]

[FBIS Translated Text] How big is the price of the fall of Knin Krajina? While citizens of Serbia and Yugoslavia are giving as much as they can from their own worn out reserves, in order to ease at least a little bit the tragedy of over 100,000 people who crossed the Drina River literally overnight, first analyses are being made, examining the consequences of deserting the territory on which Serb people have lived for centuries.

In order for Serbia to provide for and accommodate such a large number of exiled Serbs, it is necessary to give out 300-400 million German marks [DM], which is more than the republic's budget, as Tomislav Kresovic, a political analyst in the center for geopolitical studies of the BINA agency, explains.

"From various humanitarian organizations and foreign countries we can get DM30-60 million to provide for Serbs who left their homes," Kresovic says.

The arrival of Serb refugees is not a factor of stability, and that will be reflected in the economic and political spheres. "The allies of Croatia want to undermine Serbia, so that possible internal tensions and conflicts might undermine its diplomatic and negotiating credibility," Kresovic says.

According to him, the monthly growth of inflation in the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia could increase by two or three percent, which, on the yearly level, is a three-figure number, and that can easily lead to the reappearance of all the phenomena from 1993.

Testimonies of UN observers, namely that the Croatian Army sets Serb houses on fire, leads us to the question as to what kind of property has remained in Krajina.

Around 120,000 houses and apartments were abandonedv as everybody fled; their worth is evaluated to be DM5 billion, Kresovic stresses. With the fall of Krajina, Croats got 480,000 hectares of woods and 403,000 hectars of arable land.

"The existing land resources of this part of the Republic of Serb Krajina provided food for half a million people," the researcher explains.

The forest reserves of the Republic of Serb Krajina amount to 1.5 million tonnes of wood, which is much more than what Serbia possesses. Many economic objects have also been deserted. Kresovic says that 4,000 private and 300 state enterprises were left in the occupied part of the Republic of Serb Krajina.

Besides these economic objects, on the territory of Krajina there are also 950 historical and cultural monuments, 80 libraries, and 122 elementary schools.

"These are all capital assets, and Yugoslavia has to think of the right way it will put this property of Serbs at Croatia's disposal, particularly the private property registered in the cadastral offices of the Republic of Serb Krajina and of Croatia," Tomislav Kresovic adds.

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Kresovic believes that the military and political leadership of the Republic of Serb Krajina should act quickly. "It is necessary that Milan Babic's government accept the status of refugee government and use the United Nations to exercise pressure on Croatia and protect its property," Kresovic believes.

Zagreb Completes 'Nazi' Goal of Serb Banishment

LD2508114395 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1104 GMT 25 Aug 95

[Report by Nikola Stanojevic]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Zagreb, Aug 25 (TANJUG)—The current Croatian authorities have managed to complete in three weeks what their Nazi predecessors failed to do during all of World War II: banish Serbs from their ancestral lands.

International organizations are sending in reports on torchings and destruction of Serb houses. The latest UN figures say that 25 houses have been burned to the ground in the village of Perna, 26 in Katinovac, 14 on the main road to Cremusnica and 20 in the village itself. In the village Dugo Selo Lasinjsko, seven houses have been torched and one blown up. The houses in Stipan have been looted, and civilians in vehicles with Zagreb plates were seen driving off with tractors left by Serbs along the stretch of road between the towns of Vrginmost and Glina.

About 250,000 Serbs have been banished from Croatia in the biggest ethnic cleansing operation in the territory of former Yugoslavia, which began on 4 August with the Croatian Army's offensive on the Republic of Serb Krajina.

The Serb Krajina center of Knin is an example of the extent of the looting of Serb property. People are freely roaming the town, peering into stores through the broken windows and "when they find something they like, they go in and fill their bags, and then continue happily on their way to new spoils," a reporter said.

Just a few items which nobody wanted remain in the town's department store.

Croatian police are not doing anything to prevent the all-present looting and plunder, although the authorities claim that police "intervene immediately."

Nevetheless, the looting and torching of property and murders of civilians, who are often also brutally mutilated, cannot be concealed in spite of efforts by the regime to touch up the tragic pictures of Krajina with its propaganda.

A mission of the Helsinki Human Rights Committee which visited Knin and the surrounding area a few days ago, said they had observed systematic destruction, torching, and looting. The mission members said that what they had seen was sufficient grounds to address The Hague War Crimes Tribunal.

All this is done so that it would not occur to even one Serb to return, a Helsinki Committee representative said. Like UN representatives, these international officials also maintain that Croatia practiced ethnic cleansing unrecorded in the world since World War II.

International organization warn that there are also brutal killings and executions. Many people have simply "disappeared," they say. Some of the victims seem to have been burned in their own houses.

The Croatian authorities answer all these argumented accusations with the words that Croatia troops "have not committed war crimes" and that Croatia "can rest easy." All these attrocities, Zagreb says, were "concocted" by those people who "have not wished well to the democratic state of Croatia" throughout the war.

These and similar warnings indicate that it is very dangerous to oppose the regime. However, an unsigned commentary in the opposition weekly FERAL TRIBUN was brave enough to say:

"A charge raises a cloud of dust. The dust makes it impossible to see those who were run over. We still know very little about how many people were trampled in the charge on Knin, how many were expelled, and how many exterminated. However, the fate and number of victims (those who will be visible after the dust settles) can give an additional, pestilential smell to the sweet smell of success, it is not wise to doubt that. The Croatian flag is now flying high up in the air, blood, as always, has been spilt on the ground. it all depends on where man was fated to live, on earth or in the clouds."

The lonely and brave warning of FERAL TRIBUN about the catastrophy caused by "Operation Storm" presents, for the time being, a rare testimony in Croatia that there was a voice of reason, sense and civic courage in these times of storms and tin.

Second Serb TV Station Opens in Slavonia

AU2408131795 Belgrade TELEGRAF in Serbo-Croatian 23 Aug 95 p 5

[Unattributed report: "Two Television Stations Against Croatian Propaganda"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Vukovar Television commenced work on Monday, 19 August. So, eastern Slavonia and Baranja have gotten their second television station. Beli Manastir Television has been broadcasting its programs for some time. Initially, Vukovar Television

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will broadcast one-hour news program every second evening and, in this way, supplement Beli Manastir Television.

Vukovar television was planned to commence work only in October, but considering the fact the final showdown with Croatia is already near, we decided to hurry up in order to cover our information area as effectively as possible, in order to counter Ustasha propaganda, which is very strong. This was stated for TELEGRAF by Ljubinko Stojanovic, director of the Vukovar Information Center.

"Here in the Information Center we are preparing radio programs that are broadcast via Vukovar Radio 24 hours a day. We are also publishing a biweekly newspaper VUKOVARSKE NOVINE. All this is being done by our small team of 20 people. We are currently renovating premises for our center. We are adapting a former textile school, which is situated at the highest location in Vukovar. Journalists themselves have collected 30,000 tiles needed to cover the building, which was damaged in the war, Branimir Gradanski," VUKOVARSKE NOVINE editor in chief, says.

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Report Views Draft Law on Local Self-Management

AU2508062095 Skopje MIC in English 24 Aug 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] According to the draft law on local self-management, instead of the municipal assemblies in which the members were elected, another solution is given—a municipal Council. Instead of members of local assemblies, members of the Council will be elected at direct elections, whereby their number will range from 13 in municipalities of up to 10,000 citizens, up to 25 in municipalities with over 100,000 citizens. This organ will also have its chairman and his authority will mostly come to light in the direct executive phase of the settlement of the problems in the municipality.

A new element in the sphere of local self-management will be the introduction of the function chief architect of the town, in units which have a town as their base. He will be appointed by the mayor, for a term of 4 years. The chief architect will be in charge of the town's urban and architectonic appearance. He will be able to initiate changes in the urban city plan or to introduce a new one, as well as to prepare additional norms and rulebooks from the sphere of architecture.

As to the funding of the local self-management, a line of independent funding sources are foreseen: taxes, land and utilities taxes, tax income, profits from public companies, as well as additional revenue from the state budget.

Furthermore, the law prevents the institutionalized connection of the municipalities at the level of regions, whereby the municipalities can not form regional self-management communities. As to the dissolution of the town councils, it can follow if the majority of its members are in favour of that. It can also follow with an act of the Macedonian [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM] Government, if the Council fails to meet for a period longer than 6 months, or if it fails to hold at least 2 sessions in a year, if it fails to adopt a budget in the legally foreseen period or if it makes a decision that threatens the sovereignty and integrity of the state.

This law does not determine the number and territory of the units of the local self-management. That is expected to be done with the Law on territorial division of the state.

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Walesa Opposes Electioneering in Army, Police

LD2408135495 Warsaw Radio Warszawa Network in Polish 1200 GMT 24 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Text] President Lech Walesa has spoken out against the collection of signatures for presidential candidates in the Army and Police. In an interview granted to public and private regional radio stations, Walesa emphasized, however, that the president is involved in the election campaign and can not give up his office.

President Walesa said that he could only communicate with Prime Minister Jozef Oleksy by letters. Otherwise, he could never be sure whether the prime minister might make false information available to the public.

Wilecki on Campaigning in Armed Forces, Accidents

WS2408145095 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 23 Aug 95 p 2

[Report by "R.W.R.": "The Warrant Officer Supported Kwasniewski"]

[FBIS Translated Text] *"The principle that the Armed Forces are to be nonpolitical has been violated," said Colonel Krzysztof Juniec, deputy chief of the Warsaw Military District A warrant officer collected 15 signatures of support for Aleksander Kwasniewski in one of the military units. Tadeusz Wilecki, head of the General Staff, assured that his deputy—whom the press had charged with canvassing support for Lech Walesa in the military units—is clear as crystal.*

The warrant officer may even be dismissed from the Army. He collected the signatures last week, and admitted to it. As the reporters were told, in the 1980s his father was first secretary of the Municipal and Gmina [smallest administrative unit] Committee of the Polish United Workers Party in Siemiatycze. This is said to be important for the case, although the explanations Colonel Juniec gave were unclear. The warrant officer is said to have received "certain documents" from his father.

General Wilecki said he is aware that some of the election committees are rounding up former career soldiers. The head of the General Staff sees a hidden purpose in this. That is why "we are protecting the nonpolitical character of the Armed Forces and guarding the military units," said the general. He refused, however, to name the campaign committees that are involving former career soldiers in their activities.

The general was asked about the findings of an investigation into the activities of his deputy, Leon Komornicki, who was alleged to have urged soldiers to support Lech Walesa's candidacy.

"He is crystal-clear," said Wilecki and accused the press of distortion.

Reporters were also informed that seven serious plane accidents occurred in the Air Force this year. People died in four of them. The accident rate in aviation is calculated on the basis of the number of serious plane crashes per 100,000 hours of flight. In NATO countries, for instance, this rate is between 1 and 3. If it exceeds three, flights on the given type of plane are suspended and the reason for the accidents is searched for urgently. Last year in Poland the accident rate exceeded 5 for 90,000 hours of flight (in the United States, by comparison, this rate is reached at 2.5 million hours). This year the rate is expected to rise to 10 and our pilots will spend 20,000 fewer hours flying. Colonel Marian Urbanski, who is responsible for flight safety at the General Staff, claims that the major reason is the lack of funds: The aviation equipment is aging. There is no money for overhauls and training. The number of hours pilots spend in the air is diminishing, thus we are dealing with a "Sunday driver syndrome" in the Air Force, claims the colonel.

Daily Criticizes Involving Armed Forces in Campaign

WS2408125295 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 24 Aug 95 p 1

[Commentary by Igor Zalewski: "Banana Elites"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The presidential campaign has not yet begun in full swing and the Armed Forces are already its focal point. The Armed Forces became the scene of a political confrontation between Lech Walesa, who has the solid support of generals, and the postcommunists—a group that still remains the most popular among military cadres. Walesa is on the offensive, whereas the Democratic Left Alliance has adopted a wait-and-see attitude, not wanting to strain its relations with the generals.

Why are the Armed Forces the object of such huge interest for the politicians? After all, votes are what counts most in elections. And the military can provide thousands—which does not come to much when compared with the millions of ballots that will be cast by employees of the public sector, farmers, and the unemployed.

The politicians humbly acknowledge the power of the Armed Forces. Second, the servicemen have acquired a special status: They have become full-fledged actors on the political scene. The issue at hand is not violating

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the principle that the Armed Forces are to remain uninvolved politically by not gathering signatures of support for one candidate or the other. The opinions of the generals are beginning to count more and more, and not only on strictly military issues.

Thanks to its own strength and combativeness and the opportunism of the politicians, the military elite is becoming a political elite, believing it can serve Poland not only on the testing grounds. This is typical of banana republics and indicates not only that the servicemen fail to understand the essence of democracy but that the democracy is frail and the political class is in a lousy condition.

KPN To Support Walesa or Gronkiewicz-Waltz

WS2508103395 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 25 Aug 95 p 2

[Article by "KNYSZ, WZ": "Rightist Politicians' Contract With Walesa or the Central Bank President; Support in Exchange for Posts?"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The Patriotic Camp (Confederation for an Independent Poland [KPN], the Non-Party Bloc in Support of Reforms, the Peasant Accord and the Movement for the Republic) is drafting a contract it may want to sign with Lech Walesa or with Hanna Gronkiewicz-Waltz. It will lend its support only to a candidate who approves the contract.

The document is to contain a list of the most serious problems Poland is facing and provide ideas for their solution. The list will include privatization, reprivatization, internal security, defense, and foreign policy.

The contract will also specify what individuals are to occupy the top positions in the state (in the government, banks, the Supreme Chamber of Control, Chambers of Commerce, the Presidential Chancellery, and the media).

We have learned that KPN wants to secure the seat of prime minister for its chairman, Leszek Moczulski. Not all members of the rightist camp, however, agree to Moczulski. Adam Glapinski (a supporter of Hanna Gronkiewicz-Waltz) is generally approved to be the possible head of the economic ministries.

The camp sees no place whatsoever for Mieczyslaw Wachowski, the current head of the Presidential Chancellery [as published]. At a recent meeting with Walesa, Moczulski insisted the president remove him from the Chancellery.

Politicians from the camp maintain that both Walesa and Gronkiewicz approve of the idea of signing the contract.

The majority tends to be more supportive of Walesa. However, they have not yet reached a final decision yet. They say: "Let us wait for further opinion poll results."

Presidential Hopeful on Polish-Russian Relations

WS2408133295 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 24 Aug 95 p 2

[Article by Jerzy Rembalski, "Radio Gdansk": "Strzembosz Against Compromise"]

[FBIS Translated Text] *"Guaranteeing the citizens with security is an elementary responsibility of the state that is currently not being fulfilled," stated Professor Adam Strzembosz at a news conference in Elblag. "If I am elected president, I will attempt to increase funding for the Armed Forces, the police and justice, naturally within realistic limits," he assured.*

Strzembosz claims the prosecutors offices and courts are in a particularly deep crisis. One may even speak of a structural crisis and the collapse of these services. Professor Strzembosz pointed out that neither the setting nor the date of the conference was incidental. "The date, 23 August, marks the anniversary of the signing of the Ribbentrop-Molotov pact, and Elblag Voivodship is neighbors with Kaliningrad Oblast. The huge detachment of Russian forces is a serious problem in Polish-Russian relations," he said. Professor Strzembosz confirmed that we would cooperate with the Russian Federation in all fields, firmly defending our arguments. Any compromise could be viewed as our weakness and fear—which, according to Strzembosz, would not serve Poland's interests. Asked about his chances for election, Professor Strzembosz replied he is deeply convinced he will succeed. He also reported that he has already collected 60,000 signatures of support.

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Military Attaches Comment on Bosnian Conflict
AU2408181395

[FBIS Editorial Report] Bucharest DIMINEATA in Romanian on 19 August carries on pages 2 and 3 a series of interviews by journalist Marian Ivancu, place and date not given, with Romania's military attaches to neighboring countries and with their section chief and deputy chief in the Ministry of National Defense, Lieutenant General Decebal Ilina, director of the Military Intelligence Directorate (DIM), and Colonel Ion Dohotaru, DIM first deputy director, on the "geopolitical reality" in the region entitled: "The Powder Keg in Eastern Europe and Romania's Security."

Referring to the DIM's current concerns, Lt. Gen. Ilina says that "our main concern is to prevent a surprise attack against Romania." In this respect, "an important part of our structure is the institution of military attaches, which is the Ministry of National Defense's extension in all the countries of the world, particularly in Europe. The defense attaches (military attaches) are not spies peeking through keyholes, but officers with diplomatic status. They play an important role in the national military mechanism." Emphasizing that main goal is "to open the Romanian military corps to the world and develop relations with the armies of the other countries," Ilina says that "we have rallied to the efforts of the national diplomatic and economic factors to consolidate trust in this European zone and in our country. Trust is precious. The foreigners are still reticent when it comes to Romania, because of our distorted image, which is often unjustified." According to Ilina, this is "partly because some people are intensely interested in creating a negative image for Romania. We, through our activity and contacts, are striving to make ourselves known in the world as we really are, with our good and bad features." Answering another question, Ilina categorically denies allegations of involvement in "industrial espionage against Germany," stressing that DIM "exclusively uses legal means" to gather information, "including technological data." Asked about the security risks in the region, Ilina says that he does "not believe in solving conflicts by force" and hopes that a "negotiated compromise can be reached in the space of former Yugoslavia." Unfortunately, he adds, "the prospects for lasting peace there are rather remote." Nevertheless, he hopes that "reason will triumph over military force."

Asked about Croat-Muslim military cooperation in Bosnia-Herzegovina, Lt. Colonel Iulian Tomuta, military attache to Zagreb, Croatia, says that "DIM's obligation is to ensure direct contacts between Romania's Armed Forces and the armies of the countries to which the military attaches are accredited." Consequently, he "cannot say anything sensational" about the Croat-Muslim military cooperation; "the facts speak for themselves," if one takes into consideration the recent accords signed between the two sides. Asked whether he anticipates an expansion of the conflicts in Croatia and Bosnia, Tomuta says that, "in my opinion, the conflict in the space of the former Yugoslav republics will not be short term; its solution will not be easy and peace will not be reached on the battlefield." Asked whether there is a "danger of the neighboring countries, Romania, Bulgaria, Greece, Turkey, Albania, The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia [FYROM], Hungary, Austria, or Italy, being drawn into the conflict," Tomuta says that he does "not believe in a generalized war, since its political and military implications would be extremely serious." However, he thinks that "the refugee phenomenon will continue and may acquire exodus proportions."

Referring to the conflict in ex-Yugoslavia, Lt. Col. Vasile Preoteasa, Romania's military attache to Athens, Greece, says "Greece is among the few NATO and EU countries that maintain relations with all the sides involved in the conflict," hence it is "very interested in finding a solution to the war." Therefore, "it opposes the use of force by any of the warring sides or by its NATO allies." Preoteasa adds that "Greece refuses to get drawn militarily in the conflict," but that "Athens grants humanitarian and moral support to the Serbian side."

Lt. Col. Alexandru Grecu, Romania's military attache to Kiev, Ukraine, asked to comment on "allegations that the Ukrainian peacekeeping forces in Bosnia-Herzegovina handed over their weapons to the Muslims before evacuating their UN positions," says that he does "not believe that the Ukrainian soldiers voluntarily abandoned or handed over their arms." If cases existed, then they were probably "isolated incidents caused by psychological pressures and possible threats and constraint." As for Kiev's official position, Grecu says that "Ukraine favors a negotiated solution of the conflict, exclusively through peaceful means." Asked whether there are any tensions in the Romanian-Ukrainian relations, Grecu says that "there are no tensions in Romania's relations with any of the armies in the neighboring countries." Therefore, there is "no tension in relations with Ukraine," either. On the contrary, "our contacts proceed normally, even under good conditions." A bilateral military accord was signed in 1994 and "until now, all joint activities stipulated by it nave been fully carried out." Asked about "the very limited participation of Ukrainian soldiers" in the first exercises in Romania within the Partnership for Peace scheme, Grecu says that he is convinced that "there were no tensions, but

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only a few minor organizational or financial problems." He denies "certain press reports about 'threats' having been exchanged between the sides" and describes the overall bilateral defense cooperation as "good and devoid of any signs of distrust." He adds that "Ukraine is a correct partner; our messages are clear and well received on both sides of the border."

Referring to Turkey's position vis-a-vis the conflict in former Yugoslavia, Lt. Col. Marian Ilie, Romania's attache to Ankara, says that "owing to its traditions and cultural and religious affinities, Turkey has sided with the Muslim side [Bosnia-Herzegovina Government]." According to Ilie, "the Ankara government believes that the Bosnian Muslims are at a net disadvantage vis-a-vis the Serbs," consequently "it favors the establishment of a Muslim Bosnian state in the Balkans, with all due rights." Ilie adds that "Turkey speaks out for lifting the unilateral military embargo against Bosnia-Herzegovina," but until such a decision is taken by the United Nations, "Turkey will obey the UN decisions, including the embargo on the delivery of military technology" to Bosnia. Asked about Turkey's relations with Romania, Ilie says that they are "friendly" and that there is "close cooperation at all levels."

Asked about "possible involvement of the Hungarian Army in the conflict in former Yugoslavia and press reports of a conceivable transfer of Hungarian armaments to Croatia," Lt. Col. Dumitru Tanasescu, Romania's military attache to Budapest, says that "the Hungarian press has denied this; it is hard to believe that Hungary would undertake such actions capable of adding fuel to the fire and extending the conflict." He adds that "a decisive argument in this respect would be the closeness of Hungary's territory to the conflict area. A transfer of the conflict to Hungarian territory would create them great hardships." Asked about the existence of training camps for Croatian or Muslim fighters in Hungary, Tanasescu says he has "not heard of it." He doubts it, since he believes that "Hungary has no interest in exacerbating its tense relationship with Serbia, which is already there owing to the Hungarian minority in Vojvodina." Asked about relations between the Romanian and Hungarian Armies, Tanasescu says: "Our relations are good, to the extent that we have a quite comprehensive cooperation plan, which provides for 35 bilateral activities. After the meeting of the two defense ministers, we have established various cooperation targets, including the 'Open Skies' agreement, which was appreciated in the United States, Great Britain, France, and Germany. The volume of relations between our armies has made many people assert, even on the Hungarian side, that Romanian-Hungarian military relations are at a more advanced stage than political ones. This may be so, although political relations are also at an appropriate level. If the negotiations on the conclusion of a basic treaty between the two countries had not been dragging on for so long, then bilateral political relations would have been considered as normal. Both countries have an important common goal: They expressed their firm desire to join NATO structures. This common desire contributes to building an atmosphere of trust. Both sides are aware that NATO membership cannot be achieved in different 'stages' or at different 'speeds.' All candidate states proceed from the same level and each one must prove its capacity and compatibility."

In conclusion, Col. Ion Dohotaru, DIM deputy director, is asked to "summarize his conclusions on the conflicts in our region and Romania's national security interests." Referring to the crisis in former Yugoslavia, Dohotaru says that "the Croat-Muslim alliance in Bosnia has emerged in a certain set of circumstances, in an attempt to maintain a certain military and territorial equilibrium in the region." He adds that the world is now "more aware of the danger of the expansion of the war from the fragile perimeter of former Yugoslavia," something which makes the "countries involved and their neighbors seek negotiated solutions" to the conflict. As for Romania's security interests, he says that "from a military point of view, Romania is not threatened by any country." The only reason for disquiet is the "instability in the Balkan and Dniester region, generated by the transition to new structures and standards." He adds that "we have not taken any special military measures, because there is no need. Neither have the states around us taken special measures in this respect." He winds up his interview by saying that "one cannot perceive any military threat against Romania from any side."

'Mafia' Continues To Breach FRY Embargo

AU2408142595

[FBIS Editorial Report] The 8 August issue of Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian on page 9 carries a 1,500-word article entitled "30 Gas Stations Within 813 Meters" by Andrei Antica, Alex Pikalski, and Corneliu Vilau, in which the authors report about a fact-finding tour along the Romanian bank of the Danube River, where most of the local inhabitants are known to be involved in fuel smuggling over that natural border to Serbia, thus violating the embargo imposed on the FRY by the United Nations.

In the introduction to their report the authors say that "each day 150,000 liters of gasoline are smuggled over to the opposite bank of the Danube, and all this is possible solely because they allow it, the current government being coauthor of these illegal dealings by not undertaking anything against them."

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After mentioning that they had visited the spot to factually prove that a previously broadcast report on national television, claiming that there was no embargo breach on the Danube, does not correspond to reality, the correspondents say: "If the servants of the authorities employed at the national television had followed, without being shown around or travelling in cars with flashing lights, the route Oravita-Naides-Macesi-Pojejena-Libarajea-Moldova Veche-Pescari-Liubovca-Berzeasca-Svinita-Orsova, they would have been able to see and film a genuine national disgrace. In this region the authorities authorize by not interfering and thus become accomplice to the following crimes: violating the borders of the Romanian state; smuggling goods envisaged by the embargo; offering and accepting bribes; unauthorized possession of and trading in oil products; unauthorized possession of and illegal transactions in hard currency; blackmail, murder, and intentionally violating river navigation regulations. In this area one finds the most exactly defined relationship between those who wish to corrupt others and those who let themselves be corrupted. If the prime minister showed any genuine interest in this issue, he could have found out about the number of commanders appointed to head the Moldova Veche border guards unit, and, especially, why it has been necessary to replace them so often. In the town of Orsova, which is a focal point for the fuel smugglers, people openly speak about the 'fees' that the carriers have to pay to the police to be allowed to cross the border. Records have even been set up in Romania. The godfather of the village of Pescari's gasoline smugglers, a billionaire in German marks [DM], called Baleanu, boasts about having been able to make a cubic meter of German marks. The authorities talk everything over with this chief of the local mafia, who is the owner of more than 50 vessels especially equipped for smuggling. No one knows how much he has to pay in bribes, as a price for being informed in advance about possible police raids."

The authors of the report then continue: "As we already pointed out in 1994, this area is a kind of Saudi Arabia of Romania. During our last trip there we could see that the phenomenon has become even more acute. On the road from Oravita to Moldova Veche, for instance, our car was passed by no fewer than 63 heavy-duty fuel tankers (we counted them) able to carry loads of up to 21,000 liters of gasoline. According to their license plates, they were from Bucharest, Constanta, Bacau, and Suceava. This amount of gasoline, which, let us admit, is huge, is allegedly intended to supply the gas station network between Oravita and Berzeasca, the number of the stations being 150. Do the rulers of the country not find this sufficiently peculiar to try and find out why an area, whose population hardly exceeds that of a smaller Bucharest district, needs so many filling stations? A similar detail is that the village of Pescari (813 meters long, population 1,200) has no fewer than 30 gas stations, whose operations have been authorized by officials of the Romanian state."

"Further proof is provided by the Moldova Veche central market: instead of vegetables and fruit, they sell canisters and other containers, as well as Veterog, Neptun, Jawa, Johnson, Mercury, and Yamaha outboard motors. Prices range between DM500 and DM7,500, and none is below 25 horsepower, (for the nonexperts: Such motors are used to power large yachts, but here they use them to propel boats carrying 2-2.5 metric tons of gasoline.)"

The reporters then describe a further aspect: "The statements gathered by us over a long period of time show that all the people in this area carry weapons. They buy them from the Serbs. A truck driver and gasoline carrier told us in September 1994 that the villagers of Pescari have a slogan, namely,: 'We pray to God that the Yugoslav war should not last as long as the one in Vietnam, but we hope it will last for another seven years....' Or: 'If they try to stop the smuggling by sending antiterrorist units here, we will either bribe them or fight them.' Considering the quantity of gasoline that is being smuggled and the amount of money that is circulating here, one can assess that the state must be very happy about this infraction, which is the smuggling. The higher the demand, the more cash becomes available. This is important because it avoids the financial blockage of the oil refineries, offers a good opportunity for oil transportation companies, and enables the government to raise the gasoline prices from time to time. What did you expect, its a smuggling merchandise!"

Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian, on page 16 of its 10 August issue, has a further report of 350 words on the FRY embargo breach along the Danube by C. Craciun and V. Bunget, viewing how the gasoline smugglers obtain the quantities of fuel that they need for their operations: "Right at the entrance to the village of Pescari, the richest village in the country owing to the embargo, one finds a filling station belonging to Mintel Ltd. This station has its traditional suppliers of gasoline and diesel fuel and also traditional customers in the form of the 'smuggling bosses,' whom they supply day or night. Whenever the smugglers buy fuel, the gas station employees only put down the new figure on the meter and they only note down the first name of the purchasers, which virtually works as a code so that the authorities cannot find their identities. Payment is made later by the boss of the smuggling network, after the merchandise has been taken over the Danube."

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"After the police pulled out of the Ieselnita checkpoint, located at a point leading from Orsova to the Danube straights, the border guards and the financial oversight body officers have become unable to respond to the aggressiveness of the gasoline and diesel oil smuggling mafia. It has been a week now that the smugglers have been refusing to submit themselves to routine checks and have been forcing their way through the roadblocks to enter that El Dorado of Romania. At night invisible hands, directed by the mafia, cut off the electricity in areas where the authorities set up roadblocks, thus allowing the tankers from the 150 gas stations in the area to penetrate the Danube straights zone by force. As altercations do occur quite often between the authorities and the mafia gangs, who is to be responsible for the border guards and financial oversight body officers, whose lives are in danger? Because the mafia has no mercy and the sole law that it obeys is the law of crime and money."

State Presents Evidence Against AZI Journalists

AU2408190795 Bucharest ADEVARUL in Romanian 21 Aug 95 p 8

["Excerpt" from General Prosecuting Magistracy report on legal case filed by the Presidency against ZIUA journalists Sorin Rosca Stanescu and Tana Ardeleanu]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] *As we already announced in the Saturday [19 August] issue of ADEVARUL, the General Prosecuting Magistracy sent the file containing its findings in the case of journalists Sorin Rosca Stanescu and Tana Ardeleanu, the authors of the "Iliescu-KGB" press campaign, to the Bucharest 1 District Court. The two are accused of offending the authorities by means of a series of articles suggesting President Ion Iliescu was associated with KGB structures. The Magistracy bases its accusations against the two journalists on the facts that this year Tana Ardeleanu has not been to Moscow and that the letters that they attributed to Igor Bodnarchuk [Iliescu's alleged KGB tutor] and a certain Kavichenko had actually been conceived by the two journalists in Bucharest and typed on a Cyrillic typewriter, the property of the South-East Studies Institute.*

(...) Thus, regarding the claims that Tana Ardeleanu went to Moscow between 1 and 15 June 1995 and that in her capacity as "special emissary in Moscow" she contacted two citizens called "Bodnarchuk" and "Kavichenko," we specify the following things:

a) From a simple examination of her business passport, the property of Cristina Ardeleanu, since the beginning of 1995 she has never been to Moscow (see pages...)

The official report No. 170.350 of 16 August 1995 sent to us by the Ministry of Interior, the Passports General Directorate, and the Border Police unequivocally confirms, on the basis of the visas inscribed in the business passport bearing the serial number S-0468189 and issued on 15 December 1992 by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, that in 1995 Cristina Ardeleanu travelled to Stamora-Moravita (January-February 1995) and Chisinau (April and May 1995.)

These pieces of evidence prove the lack of sincerity of the accused, who publicly claimed in a daily newspaper and reasserted during our inquiries that she had travelled to Moscow on an aircraft belonging to the Air Moldova company (see pages...)

The latter assertion is untrue, as our inquiries at the Air Moldova company, which is headquartered in Chisinau, confirmed that Cristina Ardeleanu does not appear on their passenger lists on their flights from Chisinau to Moscow in the 1-15 May 1995 period (see page...) [passage omitted]

The facsimile representing the so-called letter sent to Cristina Ardeleanu by Igor Bodnarchuk, which was published in the 24 May 1995 issue of ZIUA, was typed in Cyrillic in Bucharest, by the witness Manuela Anton, who used a typewriter of the South-East Studies Institute, the text being dictated to the witness by Cristina Ardeleanu (see pages...) From this point of view, the statement made by this witness is quite significant, as she revealed that Cristina Ardeleanu had asked her to translate the texts into Russian, including the text entitled "Recommendation," which she did using the typewriter of the institution to which she, as a former employee, had access (see pages...)

These statements of the witness confirm the technical-scientific findings of the examination, during which the facsimile published by ZIUA on 24 May 1995 was compared to a test text that was typed on 2 August 1995 using the Optima-brand typewriter machine bearing the serial number 663210. Thus, the technical-scientific inquiry report issued on 8 August 1995 reveals that "it is possible" that the published facsimile should have been typed using this machine (see pages...)

The machine is now in the possession of the authorities, and in case the accused should put the original documents at their disposal, the carrying out of any further examinations is possible. [passage omitted]

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PD's Roman Says Relations With UDMR Severed

AU2508062795 Bucharest CURIERUL NATIONAL in Romanian 16 Aug 95 p 3

[Unattributed article: "The Democratic Party Has Severed Relations With the UDMR"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Petre Roman, president of the Democratic Party [PD], stated on 14 August to MEDIAFAX Agency that the party he is leading no longer has any relations with the UDMR [Democratic Union of Hungarians in Romania]. "After the UDMR ignored the PD's request to clearly express its position on the extremist tones heard and claims voiced within the UDMR, direct relations between the two parties ceased to exist," said Petre Roman. The PD leader ruled out the possibility that an electoral agreement could presently be concluded with the CDR [Democratic Convention of Romania], similar to the agreement concluded by the Cluj branches of the two political groups. "However, the Cluj initiative can show us a path," Roman mentioned in conclusion.

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Federal

Army Chief, Navy Commander Visit Army Units

LD2408220395 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1739 GMT 24 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Belgrade, 24 Aug (TANJUG)—Colonel General Momcilo Perisic, chief of General Staff of the Yugoslav Army, accompanied by 2d Army Commander Lieutenant Colonel General Bozidar Babic and Navy Commander Counter Admiral Milan Zec, watched regular and planned training exercises by Yugoslav Army operational and tactical units [no date or place as received].

During his visit to the units, Gen. Perisic learned about the combat readiness, capability, and equipment of soldiers and officers who took part in training exercises, the Yugoslav Army General Staff says in a statement.

Following his visit and talks with soldiers and officers, the chief of General Staff voiced satisfaction with the level of training and combat readiness of these units and stated that this guarantees that special tasks in the defense of the sovereignty, territory, and territorial waters of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia will be carried out efficiently, the statement says.

Serbia

Milosevic, Russian Envoy Discuss Balkan Peace

LD2408174595 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1639 GMT 24 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Belgrade, 24 Aug (TANJUG)—Slobodan Milosevic, president of the Republic of Serbia, today received Aleksandr Zotov, Russian President Yeltsin's special envoy for the former Yugoslavia and representative in the Contact Group.

The talks focused on the current situation in the region and the latest efforts being invested by our country and Russia—as well as the international community's activities—to put an end to the civil war in the area of Bosnia-Herzegovina and reaffirm the policy of peace as the only way leading to a more prosperous future of the states and peoples of the Balkans.

A similarity of views was expressed regarding the moves that should be made in order to successfully continue and effectively finalize the peace process.

Russia firmly supports the peace policy of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and advocates that the economic sanctions be lifted as soon as possible, not merely as an indispensable move to secure the success of the peace process, but also as a precondition for consolidating peace in the region.

President Yeltsin's initiative to convene a peace conference, as stated, is fully supported by the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. It is a shared view that, before the conference, a political solution should be defined whereby the interests of all sides are protected to the same degree, something that undoubtedly implies coordination among all of the international factors that are sincerely committed to peace in the Balkans.

The talks were also attended by Foreign Affairs Minister Milan Milutinovic and Gennadiy Shikin, Russian ambassador to Belgrade.

Zotov Comments on Talks

LD2408180895 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1750 GMT 24 Aug 95

["Pool" item]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, Aug 24 (TANJUG)—Russian envoy Aleksandr Zotov said after a two-and-a-half hour talk with Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic on Thursday that he felt encouraged in view of a possibility to reach a peaceful solution to the crisis in the former Yugoslavia.

Zotov said he was more optimistic after his visit to Belgrade than he was when he was leaving Sarajevo and other centers on his way to Belgrade.

He declined to reveal details of his talk with Milosevic but said that they had discussed possibilities for accepting some elements of the peace proposal.

Zotov said the Russian delegation had not presented the Russian initiative in Zagreb and Sarajevo as a move countering the U.S. peace plan, but added that the Russian side had problems with U.S. ideas concerning the use of military force.

Referring to the political aspect of the proposed peace projects, Zotov said that the approach in that area was more coordinated and that peace in the Balkans should by no means entail a confrontation between Russia and the United States or Western Europe.

Zotov said he may have more political contacts in Belgrade on Friday.

He said he expected the international contact group to meet in the next few days in one of the European centers and that further steps in the negotiating process would depend on it.

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Humanitarian Organization Views Refugees' Problems

AU2508095695 Belgrade NASA BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 21 Aug 95 p 4

[Article by I. Kisic: "The Stoning of Refugees Was Started by Children"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The worst things in connection with the exodus of Krajina refugees happened between 8 and 10 August on the part of the highway used by the refugees near Topusko and Petrovac, and in Vojvodina. This was stated by Natasa Kandic, director of the Fund for Humanitarian Rights, at the session of the Belgrade Circle on 19 August. According to Kandic, the injured people who arrived at the border crossing of Batrovac on 10 August repeated that the stoning was started by children and that they were then joined by adults. According to the refugees, the police tried to stop the stoning, but this was very difficult because of the chaos that had already been created.

"The Vojvodina Croats were not directly kicked out of their houses by the newly arrived refugees. This was organized by the local sympathizers of the Serbian Radical Party and the refugees who came to Vojvodina in 1991 and 1992. They picked out groups of Krajina refugees and sent them to some houses owned by Croats. The police started to react only on 10 August, and for the first time their action was successful," Kandic said.

According to Kandic's information, two families that were subject to beatings moved out of the village of Hrtkovci. Their property was plundered. She said that the most drastic things happened in the villages of Kukujevci, Morovic, and Ribarac. "About 100 Croats moved out of Kukujevci in the night between 9 and 10 August." They went to Novi Sad by train. There they were stopped by the police, who tried to send them back on a bus. Some of them refused to go back out of justified fear, although the people who had moved into their houses had already been moved out. The presence of the Army of Yugoslavia, which has been stationed in these villages since the beginning of August, is creating additional fear, Kandic said.

She warned that the Krajina refugees who are still in columns and reception centers are at the mercy of local authorities, who could easily round them up and send them back to Bosnia. She warned that the farmers will probably be employed as a free labor force. According to her, people in eastern Slavonia are also in great fear because no one is allowed to leave or move in.

According to Kandic's information, the largest group of Croats and Muslims was supposed to leave Banja Luka last night. "They are not angry. They do not call it ethnic cleansing, but say: 'We know that they (Krajina residents) do not have anywhere to go and think that we should not be here either. But we have nowhere to go because we do not belong to Bihac or Zagreb.... We know that there would no normal homes for any of us there.' The authorities have tried to stop the departure of Croats from Banja Luka, but cannot do everything," Natasa Kandic claims.

Jelena Santic stressed that there are lists of people who would like to return to western Slavonia, and that there are those who are afraid to say that they want to go back because the local authorities do not want them to do so. "Even though the Croatian authorities are issuing proclamations that the Serbs can return, there are still many unknowns awaiting those who go back. In the first days, it was easy to obtain documents in western Slavonia. This is difficult to do today. Croatia also has to solve the existential problems of Serbs (jobs) if it wants them to come back," Santic said. According to the information that she presented, there are about 2,000-3,000 Serbs living in western Slavonia today. Before the war, there were about 80,000 of them.

According to Konstantin Obradovic, Franjo Tudjman as the supreme commander of the Croatian Army should also appear in The Hague Tribunal. "He should be tried not only for what the Croatian Army has done, but also for not preventing the violation of war laws. Of course, the trial could only take place if it can be established that the Croatian Army has violated the Geneva Convention, which it has signed," Obradovic said. According to him, the return of refugees to Croatia will be possible only when the regime changes and when Serbs elect leaders who can cooperate normally with the Croats.

Krajina Men Describe 'Inhumane' Handling in Camps

AU2408184995 Belgrade NASA BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 22 Aug 95 p 4

[Article by D. Banjac: "From Hand to Hand, Over the Foot"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The rather surprising piece of news that almost 2,000 former Krajina fighters in Nis had responded to the call by Milan Martic and the other authorities stationed in Belgrade and the latest (temporary) headquarters in Banja Luka seems to beg further elaboration: Where (again) and for what are these Serbs supposed to fight?

According to the news from the ground, the Nis example might remain isolated unless the Serbian Ministry of In[illegible] Affairs shows the same enthusiasm as it displayed several months ago. "Mile 'Arafat," as the former supreme commander has already been nicknamed,

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could lose his army on top of his territory. Referring to him by that name, one of his fighters, trying to find his way through the various bits of paper stuck on the gate of the Serbian Red Cross, said: "It is all over, and any continued fighting would be futile. Why should they send us back now, when only recently they told us to abandon our weapons?"

Naturally, the news about the renewed mobilization has spread fast, so most of the Krajina men of military age are in hiding and keeping well away from public places. In some smaller towns in Serbia, families have told the authorities in no uncertain terms that they should no longer count on the members of their still-unsettled families. There is particular fear in Belgrade. The refugees in Belgrade are the most reluctant to fight again, but they would like to visit their homes and even return to live in Croatia.

Furiously flinging an empty cigarette packet to the ground in Dobracina Street, B.S. from Gracac said that he did not think there was a force in the world that could get him back into uniform. "Only if they shoot at me or manage to tie me up. To tell you the truth, I would like to make it big in Belgrade. There must be something for me to do here. Although I belong, as you would put it, to the folklore mentality, I think I could get used to the city. I already think that they cannot tell where I am from; all I have to do is stop spitting in the street (you do it, too) and shouting when I get on the city bus. After all, if Martic, my so-called president, managed to 'master' a chair, I certainly can master this big city."

Those with less luck, who got caught, were immediately taken "in an unknown direction" and, upon arrival there, had to run out off the bus to the new commander, who now had complete authority over them. According to two "prisoners" who managed to escape from one of the largest training camps ("somewhere in Slavonia, possible Erdut") thanks to illness, the treatment of the newly arrived fighters, most of whom were dragged in by force, was not at all gentle. "All those who could not run the minute they got off the bus got a kick in the kidneys," says V.J. from Dalmatia. "The people are treated there in an inhumane way and some strange laws apply. The whole thing looks like something out of an American film."

"Apart from the beatings for all those that are not fit and the elderly, there are regular insults along the lines of: 'If you had been better prepared and if you were not such traitors, you would not have left Serb land to the Ustashas [World War II Croatian fascists],' says his Knin comrade in arms Milan S. He added that he had not expected to be treated in such a way. Out of fear for themselves and the safety of their families, the people with whom we spoke would not tell us to whom the camp they were in belonged, or who was behind all this. They dared to venture: 'What kind of authorities are these when, after all we have been through, they hand us over to be at the mercy of all kinds of riffraff and scum, who can only think about their own profit. We had enough of that back there; we have had enough of it. All we need now is a kind word and a quiet life.'"

It is interesting to note that most of the refugees are very reluctant to go to any of the offices of the former Republic of Serbian Krajina in Belgrade and give as the main reason ("They can no longer help even themselves") their fear of being registered. "I have had enough of being registered in all sorts of books and lists," which, they admit, is still ahead of them.

Commentary: Latest Plan Only Solution for Serbs

AU2408130395 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 17 Aug 95 p 2

[Commentary by Nebojsa Djurcic: "Peace Is Not Everything, but Without Peace Everything Is Nothing"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The consultations among the powerful are over. Washington, Moscow, Paris, London, and Bonn have greatly attuned their views on the plan that Anthony Lake, president Clinton's adviser for national security, carried through Europe in his stormy tour last weekend. The latest international offer for the solution of the Balkan crisis has been packed in Lake's briefcase. All those who have seen it try to talk about it very much, with the intention of not saying anything. That is called diplomacy.

What is obvious is the emphasized hurry of both Washington and Moscow to put a lid on the "Bosnian pot" as soon as possible. Time is slowly running out for the crucial players, Clinton and Yeltsin. This does not have to interest us, but it could determine our destiny. As early as in November, Bill Clinton and his Democrats will have a slight feeling of the voters' pulse with their opponents in New Hampshire. A few weeks later, Yeltsin will have a similar encounter with Russian voters. When they face the cameras, they must both look very secure because it is already certain that the first foreign policy question will be "the Bosnian one." If they stutter only once, if they are undefined or unconvincing, that can cost thousands of votes that will go over to the other, more decisive—if only for the needs of the media—side. Probably none of them thinks that the mutual slaughter of local peoples in Bosnia is worth that much to decide on their possible mandate in the White House or in the Kremlin. Stories about a growing concern for people facing another war winter should be left to Doctors Without Borders.

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In the meantime, Lake's briefcase has been taken over by Richard Holbrooke, U.S. Assistant Secretary of State for Europe and Canada, who arrived in the Balkans to acquaint Belgrade, Zagreb, and Sarajevo with the latest offer. At yesterday's briefing at the Department of State, David Johnson, deputy spokesman, did not exclude the possibility of Holbrooke meeting the Pale leaders as well. "We have not planned it, but, in order to reach peace, all sides must agree, and they are one of the sides."

It is certain that, after their open support of Croatia for its aggression and ethnic cleansing of Krajina and the decision of the U.S. Senate and House of Representatives to lift the arms embargo, the Americans cannot have the status of an impartial observer, but they have a different logic. Holbrooke is there to explain to the representatives of the conflict parties what will happen if they reject this offer too. That is why it was he who came, and not some British or Russian.

We do not have to wait for Holbrooke to guess what that will be. If this offer fails as well because of the inflexibility of one of the conflict parties, the Americans, and probably the Russians too, will stormily announce that they are giving up on Bosnia because they have more important things to do at home. Blue Helmets, European observers, and the rest of them with international symbols will pack their things and flee back to civilization as fast as they can.

Those who remain in Bosnian gorges and strategically important positions are Serbs, Muslims, and Croats. The problem is that they will not all be in the same position. Muslims will be helped by Islamic countries, which do not know what to do with their own extremists anyway. At least one extremely powerful European state will stand behind the Croats materially, logistically, and who knows how else, because, in general, confusion appetites grow.

Who remains are the Serbs. Who will stand behind them? The only candidate is the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia—the way it is, with nearly a million refugees, worn out by the sanctions and the blockade, trying hard to feed, accommodate, and help everybody and—to survive. Objectively seen, with a cool head, that is hardly an ally to bet on. That was obviously clear to Belgrade already in 1992, when they insisted on the acceptance of Vance's plan, in 1993 when they begged for the Vance-Owen Plan for Bosnia to be accepted, in 1994 when at the last moment the Pale leaders rejected the Contact Group plan, and the Knin leaders the Z-4 plan. Some of those offers do not look that bad any more.

Of course, there is another solution: For all of us to put on uniforms and go to war. That decision demands a few smaller calculations. First, how many Serbs will die in that honorable battle? Second, how many enemies will we have to kill because a war can be won in no other way, and, third, what percentage of territory will we win in that way, and is that more than what we would get from negotiations?

Somebody cynically noticed that "there are no good peace plans." They are surely right. If nothing, the latest one is worse in comparison with the former by all those graves that have been dug in Bosnia in the last year. If this offer is rejected, how many graves will have to be dug to reach a new one?

Willy Brandt, for us an untypical German, once said: "Peace is not everything, but without peace everything is nothing."

Article Views Troop Buildup Behind Dubrovnik

AU2508101895 Belgrade VREME in Serbo-Croatian 21 Aug 95 pp 12-13

[Article by Velizar Brajovic: "Vucurevic's Stalingrad"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The fighting on the Dubrovnik-Herzegovina front has been going on for the fifth day already (Thursday, 17 August). On the eve of the cease-fire, the Croats and the Herzegovina Serbs exchanged severe threats: Bozidar Vucurevic, mayor and chairman of the war council of Trebinje, told VREME that he had sent the message through the UN monitors in Podgorica to the citizens of Dubrovnik that, if a single shell landed in Trebinje proper, Dubrovnik would cease to exist. General Zvonimir Cervenko, head of the Dubrovnik command of the Croatian Army, responded by saying that the Serb chetniks' shelling of targets in the Dubrovnik region would no longer be tolerated. At almost the same time, a threat came from the third side: Dragomir Djokic, FRY ambassador to the United Nations, informed the Security Council by letter that, on Saturday, 12 August, the Croatian Army had fired several artillery shells from the Konavle area onto FRY territory (about which nobody in Montenegro knows anything) and that, if such attacks are repeated, the FRY will exercise its right to take appropriate action.

Movements of Armies

Jasushi Akashi on Wednesday stated, visibly concerned, that he expects a severe armed conflict to take place in the hinterland of Dubrovnik because the Croatian Army is bringing in massive reinforcements. The UN monitors observed the arrival of 100 Croatian military trucks in the Dubrovnik hinterland, where one brigade of 3,000 to 4,000 troops is already stationed, while another is

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waiting in Split, ready to go.... "The entire army from western Herzegovina, the most fanatic Ustashi [Croatian World War II fascist], will come down here," a man from the informative service of the Herzegovina corps in Bileca says, adding: "We are ready for them, and there is no chance that we give up the positions taken in recent days, and, if it proves necessary, we shall throw them in the sea."

From the Montenegrin side, some more intensive movements of the army have been noticed, starting from the island of Mamula (near Prevlaka), over the fortification of defense lines at Mount Orjen, to movements along the border with Herzegovina. The MONTENA-FAKS correspondent from Niksic reports that the asphalt road from Niksic to the border with Herzegovina has been damaged by tank caterpillars, that one tank has turned over, seriously injuring one soldier. An anonymous UN monitor reports that the UN monitors have been forbidden to move along the Montenegrin side of the border with Herzegovina. Is the army waiting for another of "Djokic's shells" to land in order to exercise its right to appropriate reaction?

The front line in this region is 100 kilometers long—from the border with Montenegro to Stolac. On the second day of fighting. Mayor Vucurevic told VREME that the fighting had been the severest since the beginning of the war and that infantry was deployed on both sides, supported by artillery. The drought facilitated the artillery to set fire to huge areas of woodland in both Herzegovina and the Dubrovnik region. The blaze was rising high in the sky, and the ashes were falling on the areas around Herzeg-Novi and Bileca, while the detonation of grenades was heard as far away as tens of kilometers deep into Montenegrin territory.

Trebinje and Dubrovnik were spared shelling. Shells fell on villages and larger settlements, causing great material damage and probably casualties, but there has been no information about that. It is unclear what the direct motive and goal of renewing the conflict were. It is known that Vucurevic has occasionally been shelling targets in Konavle, Cilipi airport, and that he also threatened severe shelling during the operations in Knin and Krajina: "We shall pound them until they stop the aggression on the western Serbian lands."

In the statement to VREME, Vucurevic said that the Croats, encouraged by the victories in Slavonia and Krajina, had been the first to launch an attack from an occupied part of Trebinje municipality. The powerful Herzegovina corps, he says, has managed to push back the Croatian army and move the front line toward Dubrovnik. The UN monitors have established that the Croats did attack first, while a wounded soldier from Herzegovina, hospitalized in Niksic, claims that the Herzegovinians attacked first. On the other hand, Gen. Cervenko denies the reports that the Croatian defense lines have been pierced.

Access to the Sea

In his statement for VREME, Vucurovic did not hide his desire to retake the 40 purely Serbian villages that the Croats occupied in July 1992, to clear the way toward Ljubinje and make possible the freeing of the Popovo Polje plain. Reporting on successes on the front, the information service of the Herzegovina corps from Bileca stated that military operations will cease only after the liberation of the occupied territories in Trebinje Municipality. In the statement to BETA news agency, after Gen. Cervenko's warning, Vucurevic stated that the city of Dubrovik was not their goal, adding that in 1992 Tudjman, Milosevic, and Karadzic had reached an agreement that Herzegovina should get a 30-kilometer-long access to the sea, from Ostra (by Prevlaka) point toward Dubrovnik. In the statement to VREME, Vucurevic explains that, according to that gentleman's agreement, in return for Serb access to the sea from Ostra point to the village of Popovici (30 kilometers), the Croats should get just part of the occupied territory in the hinterland, rather than all of the territory they are now holding.

To the question of whether access to the sea is now the goal of the counterattack by the Herzegovina corps, Vucurevic says that military plans are normally not disclosed. "Now we are all in the trenches, we are defending ourselves from the Croatian aggression, and we shall defend Trebinje as Stalingrad was once defended. The Herzegovina corps has been strongly reinforced, and even if entire Croatia were to come down here, the front line will move toward Dubrovnik," he says.

Information from the front in recent days indicates severe fighting along the Montenegrin border. In Herceg-Novi on Monday, rumors circulated that it is a matter of hours before Vucurovic gets to Prevlaka.

Enough of War

Jure Buric, district prefect of the Dubrovnik-Neretva region, says in a statement for Croatian television: "I am convinced that we do not have to particularly assure anybody, let alone the Serbs in the Dubrovnik hinterland, of what we are able to do. This is not 1991; this is August 1995." A military expert on the situation on this renewed front claims that the Herzegovinians are hoping for massive aid on the part of Montenegro. The Montengrins, however, are cool as a cucumber. So cool that that the question "Is it possible that the Montenegrins do not want a war?" can be heard more

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and more often. Statistics about the disastrous call-up among conscripts for mobilization are leaking. Our source in Niksic says that, in one local unit, of 147 summons, only seven responded; in Danilovgrad, only five out of 60 responded; and, in Bar, 80 out of 1,180 responded.

Goran Zugic, chief of the Security Center in Herzeg-Novi, in his statement for VREME, says that, in the MUP [Interior Ministry] zone of responsibility, not a single shell has landed, and there have been no incidents at the Croatian-Montenegrin border. This was confirmed following Minister of Police Filip Vujanovic's visit to the border guards in that zone (15 August), when it was stated that the border area had been quite stable and safe, which was the guarantee of stable security conditions in the entire region. The military authorities have been silent, although, according to a top official, they should have issued a statement. However, neither the president nor the prime minister of Montenegro has reacted to "Djokic's shelling." For the time being, they are keeping silent about everything.

On the Dubrovnik-Herzegovina front, there is only a part of military potentials that is "speaking up," and, as local sources assure, full-scale fighting can be expected to start only later.

Montenegro

Prime Minister Djukanovic Views Serbian Supremacy

AU2508090495 Belgrade NIN in Serbo-Croatian 18 Aug 95 pp 20, 22

[Unattributed report on interview with Milo Djukanovic, prime minister of Montenegro; place and date not given: "The Federal Government Is a Farce"]

[FBIS Translated Text] We talked about relations among the three governments with Montenegrin Prime Minister Milo Djukanovic, who recently severely criticized the federal government and openly demanded that its work be inspected.

The interview was made at the time the wave of Serb refugees from Croatia was moving toward Yugoslavia. In view of this event, Prime Minister Djukanovic pointed out right away:

"Now it is time to make sure that our national being is preserved in the first place. All over former Yugoslavia, passions have flared up to such an extent that, because of that and the ineffectiveness of the international community, a situation has been created in which the exodus of the Serbs has come about. That is a question to which we have to give state and political priority.

"In addition, one of the crucial issues in this situation is that of Yugoslavia's avoiding getting involved in the war. Certain international factors would like Yugoslavia to intervene so they will be able to prove the theory that Yugoslavia is the original evil in the Balkans and the Serbs a factor of disorder. Our involvement in the war would verify their theory and finally ensure an alibi for what they have been preparing for years, for which they have brought so many aircraft carriers to the Adriatic: to strike with their air force against Yugoslavia and dismember it."

Getting back to the topic of our conversation, Djukanovic says: "I think that NIN has perceived quite well the importance of the problem that confronts our three governments today. It is very important to expeditiously achieve consensus between the two republican leaderships and establish the necessary authority of the federal government envisaged by the Constitution. It has come to certain deviations that have prevented the federal government from starting to do the job assigned it by the Constitution."

To our remark that there are serious opinions that the federal government has become a service of the Serbian Government, Prime Minister Djukanovic warns: "Unfortunately, arguments in favor of such an opinion can be found on a daily basis. The wheat problem, the unclear situation regarding the federal state's revenues, the drastic fall in revenues from customs duties, and so forth. All this is unexplainable, particularly the fact that there is no competent official to answer these questions. Furthermore, it is being constantly repeated that nobody from the federal government made the decision on changing the conditions for crossing the Yugoslav-Macedonian border. That is probably true. But we still want to know who did make it.

"Which is to say, there are many issues regarding which the federal state is not performing its role, which gives rise to a lot of arguments that the federal state is simply a farce, that it is a mere service of the Serbian Government, which suits those who are against Yugoslavia and for independent Montenegro. These are much stronger arguments than any political platform of the Liberal Association or some other separatist circles in Serbia," Djukanovic says.

Stressing that in Montenegro there are no more dilemmas or disputes regarding private ownership and that a consensus has been achieved on the need to privatize state property, Djukanovic said: "It is my impression that in Serbia there still does not exist any clearly defined political determination. In the talks I held with Serbian Government representatives, I was told that the basic precondition for management of firms, beside own-

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ership, ought to be work. This, perhaps, is a sort of transitional solution but, in my opinion, it is a confusing solution. We believe that, in those matters, one has to draw clear distinctions: Firms are managed by owners because ownership is the basis of management, whereas work is something that brings income and on the basis of which, following some European models, one can accomplish certain participation. However, I think that, at the current stage, worker participation is more important in supervisory boards than in executive bodies."

To the question or, rather, conclusion that in Montenegro there have not been any serious examples of ownership transformation because that presupposes the existence of private capital to buy state capital, Djukanovic answered:

"That is true. However, so far we have only formally designated owners of such capital in the transitional period. Those are funds or, more precisely, three state-run funds. Workers have been given 10 percent of free shares, by which the social duty is fulfilled. Furthermore, their second right has been established: They can buy an additional 30 percent of shares under preferential conditions. The remainder of the capital will be transferred to the three state-run funds—namely, the Development Fund, the Employment Fund, and the Pension-Invalid Insurance Fund."

[NIN] Such a solution could have serious deficiencies. If, say, the capital were to be constantly kept in those funds, it would have nothing to do with privatization but, rather, with a canny etatism.

[Djukanovic] Of course. However, we have ensured by a law that 20 percent of the fund capital must be taken out on the market every year. Therefore, we are not leaving it to the funds to keep the capital as long as they want to; they have to take it out on the market and sell it there. They have to do something with it. What is now important is that we in Montenegro have decided to take up privatization and form such funds. By the end of the year, I think we shall eliminate 90 percent of the state capital as such and transfer it to the funds. In such a way we shall create conditions for easier decisionmaking by the funds, that will consequently have an obligation to take shares out on the market, to sell them and to get the process of privatization started.

Reminding our interviewee of the Law on Firms, which has still not been adopted because Serbia insists on state ownership, and that at the seminar of economists in Budva it was assessed that there are actually two economic systems functioning in parallel, we asked Djukanovic whether this was possibly a case of ideological conflict between the two republican governments.

The Montenegrin prime minister answered: "It seems to me that such an assessment has alarmed the authorities in Serbia. Immediately after that we talked with representatives of the authorities in Serbia led by President Milosevic. My impression was that the talk was held so late simply because there were certain issues of greater priority at the moment. On the other hand, my impression was that President Milosevic was not involved to the necessary degree. All other officials with whom we talked had a very diffident approach to the issue, without necessary authorizations or competences, all until President Milosevic got involved. Such an attitude of Serbia's has placed the federal government in a very unfavorable position: It has to make compromises between one concept that exists in Montenegro and the lack of such a concept in Serbia.

"Now that problem is being discussed at the highest political level in Serbia. In those talks, it has been said that in Serbia they will start devising a similar concept, and, in that process, they will most seriously consider the solutions that exist in Montenegro.

"We have gotten a promise that they will come out with their approach to the problem by late August—that is, early September—in order to be able to present everything to the federal government," Djukanovic said.

Minister Urges 'Adequate Demarcation' With Croatia

LD2508060895 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2247 GMT 24 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Herzeg Novi, 24 Aug (TANJUG)—Montenegrin Prime Minister Milo Djukanovic said in Herzeg Novi tonight that an adequate demarcation with Croatia was a strategic issue of the utmost importance for Montenegro's state integrity.

During a news conference for about 40 foreign journalists who toured the border between Montenegro, Croatia, and Bosnia-Herzegovina and the Prevlaka area, he added that the situation on Montenegro's border with Croatia and former Bosnia-Herzegovina was a particularly sensitive and important issue since the very beginning of the Yugoslav crisis.

He stressed that the area was frequently the topic of informal negotiating or military manipulations by the Croatian and Bosnian Serb sides without direct influence or approval of the Government of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia [FRY]—that is, Montenegro.

Asked about territory swaps, the Montenegrin prime minister said, "Lately there have been many speculations and unrealistic combinations," but Yugoslavia was

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ready for a three-way territory exchange, which was mentioned by Lord Owen and Alain Juppe.

The latest developments in the area between Dubrovnik and Trebinje are worrying us in Montenegro and FRY because clashes between the Croatian Army and Herzegovina Serbs have been under way for several days now, Djukanovic said.

He stressed that the presence of a large number of journalists and TV crews in Dubrovnik and the Croatian Army concentration in the area "lead to the conclusion that clashes could intensify even more."

Montenegro and Yugoslavia are for a peaceful solution, Djukanovic recalled, adding that, however, "their respective military forces stationed on the borders are ready to protect our territories."

The Montenegrin prime minister said some 20 mortar shells fell on the Montenegrin territory during these clashes, but he added that this was not done intentionally; it was just a mistake.

The Montenegrin prime minister also spoke about devastating sanctions, which cost Montenegro $6 million.

Parties Disagree on Intervention in Bosnia

AU2408160595 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 24 Aug 95

[Report by Jasna Nikolic from Podgorica on an extraordinary session of the Montenegrin Assembly]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] The stance of the Democratic Party of Socialists [DPS] on the resolution of the Yugoslav crisis is known: We have to stop the war in the former Yugoslavia and achieve the appropriate solutions through peace negotiations because that is the way to have the sanctions lifted.

The DPS's comprehensive contribution to the resolution of the Yugoslav crisis is also known, the ruling party deputies claim. The most significant result of the party's efforts and the efforts of its coalition partner, the Socialist Party of Serbia, is the maintenance of peace in the FRY. This policy, for which the two parties opted, has been continuous since The Hague and earlier; we shall go to war only if attacked.

The ruling party's deputy club today demanded an explanation from People's Party [NS] deputies, who yesterday and today said that attacks on the Serb Republic [Serb-held territory in Bosnia-Herzegovina] should be considered an attack on the FRY and that Tudjman's Croatia was an example of realized national interests. Is Tudjman's Croatia the NS's plan for the FRY? the DPS deputies asked. The NS's answer was: No to war in principle, but, if Serb Herzegovina is in danger of being conquered and its basic interests are thus threatened, we must wage war. [passage omitted]

Army Mobilization Said Biggest Since 1991

AU2508114195 Podgorica MONITOR in Serbo-Croatian 18 Aug 95 pp 19-20

[Article by Beba Marusic: "Saber Rattling"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Subversive action against mobilization was recently the reason for the arrest of one of the organizers of Mr. Mihailo Radojcic's performance in Bar, "Sex in the Mountain Wreath [Montenegrin epic]." It seems that the performance, inappropriate for the authorities anyway, came at an even more inappropriate time, in an inappropriate Montenegro municipality. Namely, sources close to the region's military leadership claim that it was precisely in Bar that the extensive mobilization initiated in Montenegro after the Croatian "Storm" was most unsuccessful. According to the same source, the army couriers managed to hand over only about 80 of their 1,850 induction notices. The reasons should be sought not in the theatrical performance, but in the entire Yugoslav performance that has ruined millions of people since 1991, with the tragic tendency of repeated reruns.

The new military and political development around Montenegro was the reason for the mobilization on its territory—the decisions about which are made, in accordance with the political moves, in Belgrade. The Montenegro leadership has generously handed that competence over to the undisputed leader Slobodan Milosevic, under whose absolute control the Army of Yugoslavia stands. After an increased alert in military barracks, induction notices for military service were sent to Montenegro reservists, with the deadline INSTANTLY. Another induction, very different from the one inviting people to military training, was carried out on the citizens of Montenegro in the not so distant 1991, when on the way to the "liberation of Dubrovnik" Konavli was burned and plundered. Four years after the famous war for peace, when Montenegro was defended in Cavtat [Croatia]) and the authorities had to face the defeat resulting from its "peaceful" policy, they are once more trying to secure the reinforcement of military defense units. That is why the public is regularly informed about "violations of the territorial integrity of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia"—somewhere near the border between Montenegro, Croatia, and Bosnia-Herzegovina. The fact that the inhabitants on this side are confused by the named locality because it is unknown or not even named in the statement is made up for by a protest note to the international community. That is how the awakening of "patriotic" feelings starts. The objective of the

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mobilization, which in this territory is carried out in phases, is the military reinforcement of the border and the fortifying of positions on Mount Orjen, which is the most significant topographic feature in this region, where artillery batteries are constantly stationed. Therefore, the induction notices for Montenegro reservists to join the armed forces of the Yugoslav Army were preceded by the transport of additional military equipment and technology from the barracks. This time the army did something more subtle than in 1991, when tanks thundered along the Adriatic coast. Probably because a great part of the equipment is already in place at the mentioned positions, the rest of the equipment was transported in occasional smaller convoys of vehicles instead of long convoys. On the other side, the fleet of the Yugoslav navy was also put on a state of alert, for the time being without reinforcement from reserve units. The frequency of the patrols at the exit of Bokotorski Bay shows that the situation is extraordinary; some of the ships and attack landing craft are stationed around Mamula Island, in Montenegro territorial waters.

The Tivat military authorities, responsible for reserve units from Ulcinj to Herceg-Novi [the coast], also got involved. The fact that their competence has been expanded to cover a larger territory dates back to last year and is a simple result of the quiet reorganization in accordance with the Belgrade-ordered centralization of the military command for the territory of Montenegro. Indeed, the Montenegro authorities gave up both the ministry and territorial defense too easily, turning their state into a mere military training ground for Belgrade; the new commander of the Tivat military department, Lieutenant Vuceta Tomovic from Niksic, was brought back from professional training in order to carry out the mobilization. He has been brought back temporarily because the Montenegro coast military department seems to be his basic war unit.

It is really hard to find out the exact number of induction notices that have been given to army couriers to hand over to conscripts. After partial research in some of the municipalities and, judging by the experience of numerous companies whose seasonal staff has been halved, it is clear that this is a mobilization of bigger dimensions, like the one in 1991. We found out from reliable sources that, in the first round, about 2,500 induction notices were typed for the Boka Kotorska region alone. Experience of the mobilized conscripts confirms the estimate of the size and shows that the army first fulfilled its need for drivers. After that they mobilized nearly the entire border brigade of Lieutenant Luka Milovic, with its infantry, artillery, and logistics brigade. Reservists are sent to the Kameno collection center near Herceg-Novi, from where they are distributed to border posts according to military operational plans.

The Ministry of Interior members are doing their best to correct the average poor response to the mobilization (presumably in accordance with an agreement between the army and the police because there is nothing about this in law). To avoid criminal responsibility for not responding to mobilization, the reservists try to avoid accepting the induction notices at all. When the military department estimates that the couriers have chased them with the notices unsuccessfully, they forward the list of the disobedient to the civilian police. The police literally hunt for them and, according to their own judgment, either hand over the induction notice to the culprit avoiding "patriotic duty" or, which is becoming more and more frequent, take him directly to the war unit. Force seems to be necessary because the response is getting worse, and, although one should not generalize, it unambiguously shows that hardly anybody feels like playing war games any more.

The army will logically do its best to hide the percentage of the lack of response, not wanting to destroy the illusion it has created in the public about the people's massive support for the policy it is realizing. From the statistics we have managed to acquire, together with the example of Bar, we can describe the situation in Boka Kotorska. Its military conscripts will once more have to prove their loyalty to Montenegro, so that, in return, the authorities might prevent, instead of contribute to, the horrible labeling of some groups. The result is an almost 60-percent response to the mobilization. It is interesting that many "Dubrovnik heroes" have been coming to the military department constantly these days, trying to gain an exemption this time. It is as if they have realized that war is not an empty house in Konavli, plates with warm soup left behind, and the plunder of other people's belongings. Their fear, like the fear of other reservists, is quite understandable, if one bears in mind the exchange of artillery fire between the Croatian army and the army of Bosnian Serbs from positions in Trebinje. It is better not to think about possible crazy moves of Bozidar Vucurovic [mayor of Trebinje] and their consequences. The Montenegro border is a fuse that can be lit by any of the parties in conflict.

The general craziness and overheated atmosphere on all sides of the conflict cast more light on the distribution of forces and the behavior of Yugoslav Army units reinforced by reserve troops from Montenegro. The issue of securing the Montenegro border is not disputed at all. The question is how much unreasonable behavior by any of the parties is needed to draw Montenegro into war again.

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[Box, p 20]

What Does the HRT [Croatian Radio and Television] Say[ECMD]

After the latest artillery duels between Dubrovnik and Trebinje, General Zvonimir Cervenko, chief of the Croatian Army General Staff, visited his units on Monday evening. In the report broadcast on the popular television program "Picture on Picture" ["Slikom na sliku"], he denied the reports that the Croatian army's defense lines had been broken and commented: "Yes, that was probably intended to provoke us to do something thoughtless, but we will do what we have to do at the right moment, after we have thought it out well." Cervenko judged Karadzic's moves in this region as compensation for the losses in Croatia and partly in Bosnia-Herzegovina and said that he "will give him no chance to do anything in this region." The district prefect ['zupan'] Jure Buric also sent a message to Serbs in the same program: "I am convinced that today we do not have to convince anybody, particularly the Serbs in the Dubrovnik hinterland, about what we can do. This is not 1991; this is August 1995." was the prefect's message, alluding to the readiness and the equipment of the Croatian army and listing the military operations. Leaving political negotiations aside, in this block of reports about the situation on the southern front Croatian television, to round up the warmest regards, broadcast a selection of foreign reports. To complete the picture of the atmosphere in Croatia, we publish a part: "The Serb leader on the other side of the Bosnian border brags that he precisely is the minister of tourism and transport of Dubrovnik. Hardly anyone believes that the Croats will allow any further threats to Dubrovnik. After the military success in Krajina, many expect a new Croatian offensive in this region to render Dubrovnik out of the reach of Serb artillery. That opinion certainly exists on the other side of the border because the Serb population is fleeing Trebinje...."

Commentary Views Reporting on Krajina's Fall

AU2408122495 Podgorica MONITOR in Serbo-Croatian 11 Aug 95 p 12

[Commentary by Dragoljub Vukovic: "According to TANJUG"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] The cycles of irresponsible political games have been completed with quite a bizarre episode that, instead of the protection of the Krajina Serbs, has resulted in an ethnically pure Croatia and the people of the Serbian Krajina seeking refuge elsewhere. The fall of Knin to the Croatian Army and dramatic events in the young Serbian state have not prevented the president of the Serbian-Montenegrin federation and supreme commander of its armed forces from normally performing his regular duties according to protocol. The public discovered that President Lilic is alive and well from the news that the president congratulated the national holiday of his Bolivian counterpart, Gonzales Sanchez de Losada, with the conviction that the friendship between the two countries would successfully develop even further.

Of course, it was naive to expect the guest-president to address the public in delicate moments, just as it was clear that the main protagonist, President of Serbia Slobodan Milosevic, would not rush to appear before the cameras and tell the disturbed nation what it should expect next. [passage omitted]

It would be interesting to review, though, how the state-run media in Montenegro have reported on the attack by the Croatian army on the Krajina Serbs and to compare that with reports coming in from the same region several years ago. First, this time there were no special reporters (last time some of them even tried themselves out as combatants), so the bulk of the information has been obtained through the state news agency TANJUG. The news about the defeats of [self-proclaimed president of Krajina Milan] Martic's army and the tragedy of the civilian populace have been released by portions in the beginning, in order to minimize the drama and tragedy of events at least to a degree. Four years ago, for instance, editors did not even think about checking on the information stated by the special reporter of TV Montenegro (at the time TV Titograd) that he had obtained from God knows whom on the 40 Serbs killed in Pakrac, but the fall of Knin has been reported with distance and reserve.

Just as the authorities needed the warmongering fabrication about the massacre in Pakrac at the time, now it does not suit them to overdramatize things. The foreign political columnist of POBJEDA has fit in quite well with that new model, talking about a military balance in the same issue in which the news about the fall of Knin into Croatian hands was published. According to the POBJEDA columnist, "Croatia today still does not have a decisive military advantage that would enable it to crack a hard nut—the Republic of Serbian Krajina." Although it was being written and talked about for days before the attack on the Krajina Serbs that Croatia was massing more than 100,000 troops (later it turned out that there were many more), the commentary stated that the Croats had about 70,000 troops, thereby creating an impression that they were not a considerably greater force than the 50,000 troops of the Krajina Serbs' armed forces.

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In addition to this overlooking of some military-political facts on the ground, the state-run media have resumed on this occasion the proven method of "tempering" oppositional statements. One of the statements of the National Party may serve as the most illustrative example. The scissors of censorship have cut out half of the "improper" text, which has made spokesman Zelidrag Nikcevic say that editors and their bosses are doing the dirtiest job and that the authority and the state-run media will hardly be able to wash out this disgrace.

The authorities have tried to make up for the lack of any reaction or explanation on the part of President Bulatovic and the Montenegrin Government by a statement issued by the Democratic Party of Socialists, in which the deepest concern is expressed over armed action taken by the Croatian forces. In addition, there is a reference to the international community, of which it is demanded finally to take an objective attitude and treat equally all of the factions in the conflict, reminding it of its dedication to peace. This statement resembles the current pacifism pursued by the authorities in Belgrade and Podgorica, a tone so much different from the one at the time the bloody Balkan porridge had only begun to warm up.

The letter of metalworkers from Niksic to FRY President Lilic has reminded us of the old times to a degree. The letter has been, at the same time, the only public war cry from Montenegro. Bellicosity seems to have dried up, so that the customary haughty Serbian radicals, instead of mobilizing volunteers, are only addressing the public by accusatory questions and their view of the truth. "The Serbian Radical Party [SRS] has neither its own army nor factories of arms and ammunition or food or medicines," they concede in the statement signed by the chairman of the Executive Board of the SRS of Montenegro, adding "the SRS has only words at its disposal and readiness to tell the truth to the public and the Serbian people."

The National Party has been most frequently present in the public in the past days, issuing direct accusations that "the responsibility for the Serbian tragedy and exodus of the Serbian people lies exclusively with the regimes of Serbia and Montenegro." The National Party has announced a rally, started an initiative for calling an extraordinary meeting of the Montenegrin Parliament, and given some concrete proposals. One of them will certainly displease the Krajina refugees because Petar Kilibarda is again giving them the role of frontiersmen of Serbianhood, this time in Kosovo and Metohija.

The Montenegrin liberals have nothing more (or different) to say than what they were saying before. For them everything is "a logical consequence of the evident and lengthy absence of political wisdom, as well as the absolute lack of interest in the plight of the innocent." The Montenegrin Social Democrats have commented on the tragic events that the Yugoslav peoples are victims of their chauvinist leaders, denouncing the international community because of its behavior that contributes to the deterioration of the situation and unprincipled attitude toward the Yugoslav war. [passage omitted]

Kosovo

Serb Refugees Arrive From Krajina

LD2408213895 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 2111 GMT 24 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Pristina, 24 Aug (SRNA-BETA)—New groups of refugees arrived in Kosovo today, but the Kosovo Red Cross did not announce the total number of Serb refugees accommodated there.

Another group of 500 refugees from Krajina arrived in Prizren today. They have been housed in trailers at Putnik Motel, the local culture club, nearby villages, and the Balkans Hotel in Suva Reka.

The Progress company of Prizren has offered the refugees 5,000 hectares of arable land to cultivate.

The leadership of the Kosovo-Pomoravlje district, where 400 refugees are housed, said that it can accommodate another 400 and that approximately 200 hectares of land has been set aside for them. [passage omitted]

Many Appear 'Very Angry'

AU2408190895 Pristina KOSOVA DAILY REPORT in English 23 Aug 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] The Serb-installed mayor of Kosova, (Serbian imposed administrative arrangement) Milos Nesovic, is quoted by the Serbian press as saying that "as many as 5,000 Serbs refugees have been stationed in Kosova and that another 7,000 can easily be settled soon." Mr. Nesovic told the Belgrade-based EKSPRES POLITIKA that the Serbian regime "can offer to Serb refugees in Kosova much more than in any part of Serbia." Every Serb family would be allocated 3 hectares of second-class or 2 hectares of first-class farmland, including vineyards and orchards, Nesovic is quoted as saying.

In a meeting with Serbian authorities in Apatin (Vojvodina), the Serbian administrator is also quoted as saying that the Serbian regime will provide jobs to most to the Serbs who wish to stay in Kosova and that the regime has been registering the job vacancies in Kosova(!). According the so far data, the Serb arrivals have been mostly stationed in either pure Albanian towns or in

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those where Albanians yet make up the overwhelming majority of the population. Nesovic and other Serbian regime officials have been overtly acknowledging that the goal of the Serbian regime is not a temporary settlement of Serb refugees but rather the colonization of Kosova. It sounds more than profane to speak about "job vacancies" in Kosova if one bears in mind the fact that over 120,000 Albanians have been expelled from their jobs over the past five years.

When speaking of thousands of hectares Serbs are envisaged to be allocated with, one should unquestionably wonder where is that amount of land to be found. Over 60,000 Albanian families in Kosova are without a single acre of land and lacking any outcome, living mainly by solidarity funds and other humanitarian relief. The property of the agricultural cooperatives belongs to all the people of Kosova. It was not long time ago expropriated from the citizens of Kosova and it was the Albanians who had worked in them for decades until Serbia cracked down with police and army on Kosova. The Kosova Albanians have been warning that the settlement of the Serb refugees in Kosova is not being put as a humanitarian issue but overtly as a colonization one. They have been warning over possible escalation of the already tense situation in Kosova. Serb refugees will undoubtedly bring with themselves in Kosova the frustrations they have been with for years in the warfare in Bosnia and Croatia. Albanians do sympathize with the misfortune of Serb refugees but it is difficult to see one's property and job being seized by others.

A Kosova leadership official is quoted as saying that one should also see the issue of the settlement of Serb refuges as a matter of morality. Would it not be normal for a Serb to feel uncomfortable if he knows that he has taken the very parcel of land of his "new neighbor" or he has been given the very land his neighbor had been doing for years but was sacked by force.

There are many elements supporting the Albanian fear that the entire issue is but another attempt of the Serbian regime to colonize Kosova and change its ethnic structure. Over the past year, the regime has promulgated a bulk of legislation and programs envisaging to settle to Kosova hundreds of thousands of Serbs from the territories of former Yugoslavia. The Serbian regime has on the other hand been preventing the repatriation of hundreds of thousands of Kosova Albanians who were compelled to seek refuge in Western countries due to the Serbian terror.

On 21 August in the evening, the Serbian installed authorities in Mitrovice [Mitrovica] sheltered 27 Serbian refugees from Croatia in a kindergarten at Bair quarter of Mitrovice, the LDK [Democratic League of Kosovo] Information Commission in Mitrovice reported.

This morning at 0900, a train with some 300 Serbian refugees from Croatia arrived at Prizren railway station, LDK sources reported today. From there the Serb refugees were distributed to various directions. Two of the first buses headed in the direction of Srecke, whereas four other were reported parked near the train station waiting further directives. The train was also loaded with many tractors and cars. The report says that this time the refugees that reached Prizren are much younger than the previous ones. It was also reported that many of the refugees appeared very angry and shouting "Why should we stay here, we were promised to be taken elsewhere!" Soon after their arrival, at the train station arrived the installed chairman of Executive Council in Prizren, a man called Cance, who tried to calm the crowd of the unhappy refugees. Sources in Prizren said that another train with Serbian refugees from Croatia was due to arrive today at noon.

Arrivals Try To Leave Kosovo

AU2408190995 Pristina KOSOVA DAILY REPORT in English 24 Aug 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Besides the Serbian regime's firmness to station Krajina Serb refugees in Kosova, Serb arrivals take the first chance to leave Kosova and seek settlement in Serbia. Serb individuals or smaller groups have reportedly walked out of refugee camps as soon as reaching Kosova or have been vowing they would do so as soon as they get in touch with their relatives elsewhere.

The LDK [Democratic League of Kosova] Information Commission in Prizren reported today that 50 Serb refugees left Prizren yesterday saying they were heading towards the town of Ruma (Serbia). Some were quoted as saying that they would not only stay in Prizren but in any other place in Kosova for "they cannot live with the Albanians."

The latest reports from Prizren say that some 60 other Serb refugees have gathered at the railway station in the town demanding to be transferred to Serbia. Serbian-installed authorities in Prizren have reportedly been trying to persuade them to make up their minds. Serb policemen are also reported strictly safeguarding the area around the railway station. According to the Serbian sources, around 700 Serb refugees have been stationed in Prizren.

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Serb Army Fires Mortars at Ethnic Albanian Homes

AU2408192395 Pristina KOSOVA DAILY REPORT in English 23 Aug 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Yesterday late afternoon, starting from 0530 p.m. until 0700 p.m., tens of mortar shells, fired from the neighboring army barracks, fell on the houses of an Albanian neighborhood at Prizreni Street in Ferizaj [Urosevac] (a road which goes in the direction of Shtime), LDK [Democratic League of Kosova] sources reported today. One mortar hit the home of Faik Rizani and made a big hole on the gate, others fell on the roofs of the homes of Rifat Bekteshi, Isa Halimi, Ismet Uksmajli, Shefki Uksmajli, and Ilmi Uksmajli. The mortars damaged the roofs and caused fear and anxiety among children and other family members.

The report says that a few hours later the Serbian police arrived at the neighborhood for investigation. The police reportedly were very abrupt and cynical with the members of these families saying: "It is a shame how the mortars did not hit Rugova's photograph!"; the picture was hanging on the wall in one of the rooms and "you were lucky not to have been hurt!" They offered no explanation in connection with the attack. Another group of Serbian police went for inspections again this morning. The Albanian neighborhood at Prizreni Street said that it was a very dangerous provocation. All other Ferizaj residents supported the protest and feel very furious, says the report.

Vojvodina

Mayor Writes Hungary's Goncz About Atrocities

AU2408145495 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 24 Aug 95 pp 1-2

[Article by "A.I.": "The Mayor of Subotica Requests Arpad Goncz's Help"]

[FBIS Translated Text] On 23 August, Jozsef Kasza, mayor of Subotica, the largest local authority with a Hungarian majority in Vojvodina, sent a letter to Hungarian President Arpad Goncz calling his attention to the difficult situation in which local Hungarians find themselves with the arrival of a large number of refugees from Krajina. Kasza informed Goncz that all requests, warnings, and demands that the local authority had sent to Serbian officials had remained fruitless. By 23 August, Subotica already had 3,200 refugees, although the whole of northern Backa should have received only 2,500.

In his letter, Kasza points out that the areas inhabited by Hungarians and Croatians are disproportionately overburdened with the refugees, which has led to a forcible changing of the population's ethnic structure.

Kasza also reminds him of atrocities committed against these two groups of people in the past few weeks by armed refugee groups.

According to indications, the meeting between the Democratic Union of Vojvodina Hungarians [DZVM] and the Alliance of Vojvodina Hungarians [SVM], which has been announced a number of times, at which they were to discuss joint action on the refugee issue, will not take place. At its 22 August session, the SVM's Executive Committee concluded that the DZVM only pretended that it intended to cooperate; otherwise, together with the SVM and the Democratic Federation of Vojvodina Croatians, it would also have signed the already published statement protesting the settlements. According to the SVM, the DZVM linked the cooperation to "conditions harmful to the Hungarians"—for example, if the Serbian authorities do not meet the two organizations' demands, its council members and deputies should withdraw from all representative bodies. According to the SVM, this is unacceptable because it would give an opportunity to introduce forced administration and the ruthless settling of refugees. The date of the meeting between the two organizations has been postponed a number of times. The DZVM suggested 26 August, the date of the Vojvodina youth meeting of which the SVM is an organizer.

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